The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

VOL. XXX (No. 10) OCTOBER, 1916 NO. 725

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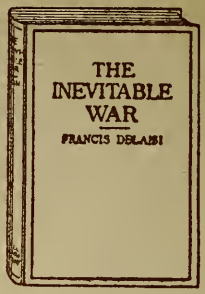
There Would Have Been No War



IF the French government had said to the English
You shall not have our army
the French government had said to the Germans
You shall not have our money

Read these definitions taken at random from

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(La Guerre qui Vient)

By FRANCIS DELAISI

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DIPLOMATS: "The tools of the financial and industrial oligarchy who work to obtain for them foreign loans or foreign purchases for their goods."

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counted as coming from enemy sources. I have been keenly in sympathy with the great English Liberals in their struggle against modern imperialism in England, and Leonard Courtney, Gilbert Chesterton, Bernard Shaw, Philip Snowden, Frank Harris, Francis Neilson, and a host of others who have stood against the imperial policies of their country are my heroes, along with the great English Liberals of the past age, Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, Morris, Hunt, Keats, Shelley, Byron, and Browning, whose patriotism led them to tell their country her sins in the hope to save her from wrong-doing. This seems to me true patriotism and the correct interpretation of "my country wrong or right." The thing which would cheer on our country when she is wrong is unworthy of the name of patriotism and will lead her to destruction, so my prayer is and will continue to be, *God speed the right and chastise us into the path of right-doing.*

When I say that the facts of this war seem to me to incriminate England, it is not because I have a German bias. I have not had access to the German side of the story, except recently in pamphlets and periodicals, which I try to read with discrimination, keeping in mind the principle that bias and deliberate attempts at deception in enemy literature are pitfalls that must be avoided. Of course I have admired greatly the literature, science, public economy, and general administration, in which Germany has led the world.

As I have said, my information is almost all from English and American sources. If I know more of Rhodes and his policies than others do who have read much since the war began, it must be credited to the vivid interest that I brought to the reading of the *Contemporary Review* and the *Fortnightly Review* in the nineties, and to the accretions that followed, largely at the time of the Boer War and after the Boer War, when we, who were ardent sympathizers with the republics against the British Empire, entertained some of the most notable men who came to this country, men who knew the South African situation at first hand.

* * *

"Alliance, if you please, understanding between gentlemen."

CECIL RHODES in 1895 made his first attempt to annex the South African republics to the British empire, and this was a prelude to uniting Africa later from the Cape to Cairo by annexing the German colonies through which his railroad was planned to pass. It was at this time that, "thinking in continents," he formulated his world-policy to "paint the map of the world a British red." After the annexation of the African republics, the next great step in the process was to be a division of the world before 1920 between the Russians and the united Anglo-Saxon peoples, and the means that were to be employed were alliances of Great Britain with Russia and with the United States. The proposition was stated boldly and fully, and in such a manner as to make the inference perfectly clear that before 1920 Germany must be removed from the map, her fragments appropriated by the Allies. As this policy was presented in the article "1920," published in the *Contemporary*

Review (London, December, 1894) no pretext was made that Germany was threatening the world and no chivalrous or holy motives were assigned for forming this concerted action against her. The "changed purposes of Pan-Germanism," and "protection of little nations," and "war against militarism," and "war against war" were all advanced later in the procedure—was not the purpose to appeal to the public and confuse the issue, to win our American diplomats and our American people as well as the people of allied Europe? Mr. Rhodes himself never professed fear of Germany and thought that the British navy would be sufficient, if increased according to his recommendation, to capture the new German navy whenever it chose.

Those who try to understand this world war of Rhodes's making and our part in it can do so only if they look to the motives assigned long before the fray was begun, and before our diplomats were captured. Therefore I propose to direct attention back to the beginnings when motives of imperial methods were not masked, and to the men who first worked for an American alliance. My discussion will be limited mostly to events on this side of the Atlantic to show the extent to which the project of an alliance with "America" has succeeded. Most of the evidence will be unearthed by future historians who can gain access to facts now hidden, and a great deal will never be brought to light, for the agreements have been secret, "understandings between gentlemen," as Mr. Chamberlain stated in his announcement to the House of Commons in the course of the Boer War. An investigation of the expenditure of Cecil Rhodes's millions, bequeathed to be administered secretly with the purpose of bringing "America" into alliance with Great Britain would bring to light much that is hidden, but will hardly be permitted by the empire that after the Jameson Raid failed to investigate Rhodes's piracy in its behalf. On this side of the Atlantic, however, the course of events is sufficient to prove that a secret alliance was made—the proof was practically sufficient before Mr. Chamberlain made his announcement. Perhaps no treaty entered upon as our constitution provides, *by and with the consent of the Senate*, has ever been so important in its influence upon our national ideals and welfare as this secret one has been, so it behooves us before the next step is taken to understand as completely as possible what has happened, what is involved, and what is likely to follow.

It might seem that it would be impossible to win the United States to the Rhodes policy of annexing the republics and painting

the map of the world red, including our own territory. Washington had warned us in solemn accents not to entangle ourselves in foreign politics, and had promised us the greatest material prosperity if we would treat all nations justly and as friends,—"I conjure you to believe me, my fellow countrymen." Webster had urged us merely to live up to our republican principles as a means of influencing the world to a more fortunate future in which the nations would improve their conditions by adopting our most successful institutions; and our country has been so marvelously successful that it has more than realized the hopes that the fathers cherished. Washington and Webster might well have been astounded to see the United States of 1895, its population, its power, its wealth, its expansion, and the influence that its ideals had exerted upon the world as manifested in legislation and in revolutions in other states, with the aim to secure such liberties and independence as had benefitted us.

How many changes in British colonial government might be credited to American success? How much had our influence to do with the formation of the republics in Central and South America, and with successful and unsuccessful revolutions in Europe, Africa and Asia in the course of the last century? "Where the bayonet is at their throats, men pray for it," said Webster, and this is still proved true in the revolution attempted in South Africa in 1915 and in the Irish revolution of this current year. Our "Glorious Fourth," Independence Day, had taken rank with Christmas in the hearts of our people, and it had been our unvarying practice for over one hundred years to extend our sympathy to people in any part of the earth engaged in a struggle for liberty. With such traditions would it not seem impossible to win our American people to imperialism as a home policy and support of Rhodes imperialism as a foreign policy? It *has* proved impossible to win the nation at large and in the open, but easy to get an effective secret alliance. Why? It is time that we should consider this, for the danger is within our gates.

The first incident in which an American of great influence allied himself to help carry out the Rhodes policy was the Jameson Raid (Dec. 27, 1895—Jan. 1, 1896), intended to result in annexing the South African republics to the British empire. In the courts of Pretoria and in the trial of Dr. Jameson before the parliamentary committee in London, it was proved that John Hays Hammond, along with other "reformers" had been guilty of intent to bring on war by gross misrepresentation of facts. The conspirators at-

tempted to make their raid seem chivalrous, even holy, by a telegram appealing for assistance in behalf of women and children who had really never been in danger—a telegram concocted two months before it was sent out, to be despatched guilefully at the psychological moment. Not only the "reformers" and Jameson and Rhodes were guilty of this conspiracy, but also the highest British officials, including Joseph Chamberlain, secretary for the colonies; Lord Salisbury, prime minister; and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, for these stood by Mr. Rhodes throughout the trial and continued to give him their support afterwards. The parliamentary committee that conducted the trial shielded the main plotters and entered into the plot, for they refrained from asking the questions that would have shown the guilt of the imperial officials; Parliament also became implicated by accepting the report of this committee without further question. If I remember correctly, only two members of the committee dissented and only a few editors took exception. From that day the policy of the British government has never varied from the policy that Rhodes outlined—alliances have been made as he advised, and more than he advised, and the navy has been increased as he suggested. If the present war ends as he planned, Germany will have been eliminated before 1920 as a world power. The pleas of righteous and chivalrous purpose made by the imperial officials of to-day must be discounted in history as heavily as those of the chartered company whose offenses the empire condoned and sheltered—for, as pointed out by a few English Liberals even to-day, the acts have been paralleled with the sending of the Johannesburg telegram, only more wily and successful—see the succession of documents and speeches in *How Diplomats Make War,* by Neilson, member of Parliament throughout the five crucial years, 1910-1915. Of course that is not the subject of this paper but another story.

The Boer War and the alliance of England, Russia and America against Germany were planned by Rhodes, as I have said, before the Jameson Raid, in 1895. If President Cleveland was approached with a suggestion to form such an alliance he did not respond, for in accordance with American traditions he expressed the sympathy of our government to the Transvaal after the Jameson Raid, he upheld the Monroe Doctrine against the encroachments of England in Venezuela, and he requested the recall of a British diplomat who was using his influence in favor of certain candidates in an American election. Entering upon their duties the year following the Jameson Raid, President McKinley and John Hay made the

secret alliance, adopting an imperialist national policy and the secret Rhodes imperialist world-policy. These have since been maintained by our succeeding presidents but have never been openly approved by the nation, for every administration still sees an attempt to fix the date for the independence of the Philippines, and every effort to enter into open alliance with England and come to her open assistance in war has been thus far frustrated.

As a tooth of a mastodon shows an anatomist what the rest of its skeleton and its life habits must have been, so a very few facts will be sufficient to show what manner of men Hay and McKinley were: both had marked traits.

Hay characterized McKinley as a man who wore a mask and had the face of a "fifteenth-century ecclesiastic," a description that could hardly be bettered. All the world knows what that type connoted—wile and guile; and these traits are amply illustrated in admiring remarks that Hay adds on the way McKinley could talk even to an office-seeker so as to let the man go away satisfied, supposing that he had received a pledge, only to discover his mistake later: "Six different senators might in turn press the claims of their protégés, and Mr. McKinley without duplicity would send each senator away believing that his own would be appointed; and all the while the President had settled on another candidate." This speaks volumes for McKinley's "diplomacy"; and what definition could Mr. Hay have constructed for "duplicity" that he did not include this under it? What will he not do by omission and commission, and still hold himself guiltless? With such an estimate of McKinley and such an idea of duplicity, Hay worked for McKinley's election, thereby again giving his own exact measure in public morality. Thayer says of McKinley's methods: "He had the art of throwing a moral gloss over policies which were dubious, if not actually immoral," and instances the extermination of certain tribes of Filipinos, which extermination McKinley termed "benevolent assimilation" to make it look well to the public. This is the Rhodes method to perfection, and provides a formula that will give the correct interpretation to many events: *"throwing a moral gloss over policies which were dubious if not actually immoral"*!

Men of "big business," like Hanna and Carnegie, were McKinley's friends and supporters, and it is quite possible that Carnegie's support in the election was secured by a pledge to work for a British-American union as well as to maintain the high tariff on steel rails, for as early as 1893 Carnegie had written in the *North American Review*, "Let men say what they will, I say that as surely

as that the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state—the British-American union." It is to be noted here that Carnegie was distinctly of those who did not put "America first"—what abuse would not our Anglophiles have uttered if some German-born American had written with like enthusiasm proposing even alliance with Germany!

Of Hay we are told in Roosevelt's *Autobiography* that since the days when he served as secretary to our great radical, Abraham Lincoln, he had grown more and more conservative, and that he considered Roosevelt too liberal, but that he and Roosevelt were in complete accord on foreign policies. Thayer says that Hay came to resent the interference of senators while he was conducting the state department and would greatly have preferred to carry on his work without explaining foreign affairs to them and winning their support. "Trust the President," a slogan he might have made to fit his own case, has become in this war the slogan of the men who have been initiated into secret imperial diplomacy, who do not refrain from questioning him on foreign understandings because they know that he is going to be unduly friendly with England and distinctly hostile to Germany. If he should be unduly friendly with Germany and distinctly hostile to England they would not trust him or ask the nation to do so.

By a man's chosen friends one knows him, and Hay's friends were not of democratic type. One of the letters he wrote while in England mentions with admiration a very rich senator, his friend, who had been entertaining him at an English countryseat where he was spending the summer, and calls him "the finest type of Tory baronet you ever saw"—a truly American spirit would have had at least a grain of regret at the sight. Hay developed a frigid manner and was difficult of approach, even forbidding to the public, and his most intimate friend, Henry Adams, the historian, had like serious limitations. Thayer describes Adams as a man who had lost his faiths and enthusiasms, who had withdrawn from the world as a solitary and now admitted only the select to his presence, and who saw life as a jest and nothing more. The friends were evidently sophisticated in the full derivative sense of the word, men who professed wisdom, but who had lost the true wisdom of life. Adams had adopted a habitual tone of sardonic irony, and Hay, to judge from his letters reported by Thayer, was given to perpetual banter, sarcasm, and jesting, a style quite the opposite of sincere and noble, and all the more to his discredit because in his impressionable youth

he had lived in the daily presence of so great, sincere, simple, and kindly a man as Abraham Lincoln. That noble presence and Hay's contact with the pioneers of the West in his early youth should have taught him the relative values of diamonds-in-the-rough and sparkling paste, but he did not learn the lesson. He became exclusive, and the basis of his exclusion was not sincerity and nobility. He seems not to have been sensitive on these points, as is seen in his relation to McKinley and his evident pleasure in the company of insincere politicians whom he fell in with in London and to whom he lent his support.

If Mr. Hay had found a statesman of the type of Gladstone at the head of the Liberal party when he visited London in 1896, he might have been elevated to higher ideals, he certainly would not have been tempted as he now was by Chamberlain and other men of the Rhodes school. It is startling to see how like McKinley, Hay, and Adams in guile, insincerity, and lack of faith, were the English Liberal statesmen at the head of their party in 1897, as described in two keenly analytical articles in the *Contemporary Review* (London) of that year, signed "A New Liberal," and entitled "Wanted, a Policy" and "Wanted, a Leader," In the hierarchy the Tory leaders, Chamberlain and Rhodes, outranked these as masters of masters. In those articles are set forth the "helplessness and headlessness" of the Liberal party of 1897. Many reforms awaited a champion, but no champion presented himself to lead the Liberals to victory in their behalf. Of the Liberals on the Front Bench:

1. Lord Roseberry has proved a disappointment. "When a man fails like that he does not return";

2. Harcourt cannot get a following. "It is painfully clear that public opinion credits him with no belief and less enthusiasm...he fails to impress people with his sincerity...People don't believe in him, or they don't trust him either...That sounds brutal, but there it is, and there is no use in keeping up the farce of pretending not to see it";

3. John Morley is a most estimable man, but he incurs the suspicion of being an impractical doctrinaire—"a man of scrupulous ratiocination, and fastidious words, rather than a man of action. Of his kind he is admirable, but an impossible leader";

4. Asquith is not promising, though even in his college days he was picked out as Mr. Gladstone's successor and noted by Mr. Gladstone himself. "He failed to develop the right qualities... Possibly the strong wine of social success changed him... The party

gets no help from him and certainly no sort of inspiration. Probably the reason is *that he has none to give. For his fatal fault, if I understand him, is that he believes in nothing";*

5. Campbell-Bannerman also is not promising. "I have given him up. He is too rich and too lazy, and his only ambition seems to have been the hope of the speakership and a peerage."

The "New Liberal" of 1897 wrote with the eye of a seer, and his judgment has been justified in every case by events. In 1916 the world knows the sequel:

1. Lord Roseberry never returned;

2. Mr. Harcourt never got a following;

3. Henry Campbell Bannerman realized his ambition of the speakership and a peerage. He was the leader of the Liberal opposition during the Boer War, perhaps *persona grata* to the government because when the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) shook hands with Rhodes in the face of the Jameson investigating committee, Campbell-Bannerman, then a member of that committee, refrained from asking for the telegrams that would have shown the imperial officials in collusion with Rhodes. His pro-Boer questions annoyed Mr. Chamberlain in the course of the Boer War, but did not change the outcome one iota. Perhaps they helped Campbell-Bannerman to realize his peerage, for when Sir Edward Grey was asked to undertake the foreign office he refused to consider the invitation unless Campbell-Bannerman should be "banished to the House of Lords," where questions, if asked, would not annoy him and would certainly be innocuous.

4. Mr. Asquith has been the premier that, along with Sir Edward Grey, led affairs to Armageddon. "The strong wine of social success" may have led him farther and farther from the straight way, for he married the woman of high social standing who was widely celebrated a few years ago by William Watson's poem, "The Woman with a Serpent's Tongue":

> "Who slights the worthiest in the land,
> Sneers at the just, contemns the brave,
> And blackens goodness in its grave....
>
> .....
>
> "To think that such as she can mar
> Names that among the noblest are;
> That hands like hers can touch the strings
> *That move who knows what men and things?"*

Had Watson a premonition of this war when he wrote that last verse? During this war Mrs. Asquith's influence has been felt to

be so malign that the newspapers of the empire have been appealed to, to keep silent on the subject.

3. Finally, the prophet was right on Mr. Morley, for he left the cabinet in 1914 when this war began, because he would not be held responsible for the future, having been deceived by Sir Edward Grey though a minister of the Crown, on the most important facts preceding the declaration of war. He has been the man of probity and honor, but not a strong leader.

Hay visited London in 1896, a few months after Jameson's Raid and at about the time when Mark Twain was visiting the scene of the raid in South Africa; and he returned to London as our ambassador in 1897, immediately after McKinley's inauguration, at about the time that Mark Twain was writing his marvelously lucid and penetrating chapters on Rhodes and the raid in *Following the Equator.* Because my well-restrained statements concerning Rhodes might see exaggerated and because sound conclusions could hardly be stated more picturesquely or with greater force, I shall quote his words to show the respect that was paid to Rhodes and his policies in the nineties:

"In the opinion of many people Cecil Rhodes is South Africa; others think he is only a large part of it....He is the only colonial in the British dominions whose....speeches, unclipped, are cabled to the ends of the earth, and he is the only unroyal outsider whose arrival in London can compete for attention with an eclipse....The whole South African world seems to stand in shuddering awe of him, friend and enemy alike. It was as if he was deputy-God on the one side and deputy-Satan on the other....blasphemed by none among the judicious, and even by the indiscreet in guarded whispers only."

This is how Rhodes's influence was estimated by an unbiassed American observer, perhaps the keenest mind among us at that period. It would hardly be possible to overestimate the influence of Rhodes upon the policy of his country. He was no poor scholar with a limited influence upon scholars, like Treitschke, no remote philosopher influencing a still smaller circle of philosophers, like Nietzsche, but himself the Superman, nourished on the doctrine of the survival of the fittest formulated a generation earlier by his own countryman, and interpreting that doctrine in the light of his conviction that He and His are the fittest. A good imperialist appreciation of Rhodes is the article by H. Cust, M. P., in the *North American Review,* July, 1902. This member of Parliament expresses no horror of Rhodes though his schemes imply the wars to

follow, a conspiracy to be carried out later by political corruption, and consummate hypocrisy to cover up the tracks. Cust is one of that Parliament, doubtless, that rewarded Alfred Austin with the Laureateship hot-cakes after his writing his poem in praise of Jameson's chivalrous(!) raid, and he and his like have led their nation into holy horror of Germany because, they charge, she intended to enter on a career of conquest and annexation—the very policy they admired in Rhodes! Can they produce documents to prove their charge stronger than those that convict Rhodes? Rhodes saw the annexation of the republics before he died, and he lies buried in a spot that he himself selected on the top of a high African mountain overlooking the scene of his triumph. When the people of the conquered republics lift up their eyes to that tomb they quote the appropriate text that the devil took him up into an exceeding high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory thereof, and said unto him, "All these things will I give unto thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me"—but Rhodes, being an imperial Englishman, did not say, "Get thee behind me, Satan." Our friends in South Africa tell a good story that illustrates the feeling concerning his plans to annex the world—that while Mr. Rhodes was a guest at their home they were out on the porch one night when the talk turned to the stars and whether they are inhabited. Mr. Rhodes was the person who hoped they were not, and the rest judged that that was because the stars were beyond his reach: he could not hope to annex them to the British empire. Mark Twain sums up Rhodes's schemes to annex everything beneath the stars, in chapters that should be read by every American and made our text-book to ensure our understanding the policy and the methods that took Hay and his successors in. What could be more illuminating testimony than this:

"What is the secret of his formidable supremacy? One says it is his prodigious wealth—a wealth whose drippings in salaries and other ways makes men his interested and loyal vassals; another says it is his personal magnetism and his persuasive tongue, and that these hypnotize and make happy slaves of all that drift within the circle of his influence; another says it is his majestic ideas, his vast schemes for the territorial aggrandizement of England; and another says that he wants the earth and wants it for his own, and the belief that he will get it and let his friends on the ground floor is *the* secret.... He deceived the Duke of Fife—it is the Duke's own word—but that does not destroy the Duke's loyalty to him. He tricks the reformers into immense trouble with his raid, but most

of them believe he meant well. He weeps over the harshly taxed Johannesburgers and makes them his friends: at the same time he taxes his charter-settlers fifty percent.... He raids and robs and slays and enslaves the Matabele, and gets worlds of Charter Christian applause for it. He has beguiled England into buying Charter waste paper for Bank of England notes, ton for ton, and the ravished still burn incense to him as the Eventual God of Plenty.... An archangel with wings to one-half of the world, Satan with a tail to the other half. I admire him, I frankly confess it, and when his time comes I shall buy a piece of the rope for a keepsake."

What insight into the weaknesses and wrongs of the modern world! Oh, that Mark Twain had been our ambassador to London instead of Hay! He would have understood the methods by which the imperial officials that supported Rhodes were working, and would have seen through the toils that were weaving to ensnare our republic. Perhaps Hay saw more than he commented on, knew more than he told, and made terms with it as he had with McKinley's indirection.

Two incidents revealed in his letters seem to show that Hay was simply flattered and dazzled and did not know that he was taken in. The first was that in which he met both Mr. Chamberlain and Harcourt at a dinner in London, in 1896, and had some talk with them, feeling like the maiden in highly distinguished company: "It was a chance that a girl of her age rarely gets to see the greatest politicians of the time in their hours of ease"; second was that of a day or two later, when Balfour and Harcourt invited him to talk over Cleveland's Venezuelan message and the prospect of McKinley's election. He was then struck by the fact that nearly every word he had said to Balfour had been repeated to Harcourt and that Harcourt had remembered it all: "These English public men have wonderful memories," he muses. He was then asked to talk with Mr. Chamberlain and Curzon, also. The conversations are said to have been long, and probably touched on other subjects besides those for which he was invited, for Thayer tells that when Hay was in London in 1896 "*he got wind of the changed purposes of German imperialism*...In brief, his experiences in London revealed to him the aims of Pan-Germanism."

In the opinion of Dr. Usher, Pan-Germanism was merely an expression of the national consciousness and an effort at self-preservation paralleled in other nations: "If Germany is wrong, others too have been wrong; indeed, if her conduct is unjustifiable, no country in the world can establish its moral and ethical right

to existence." Certainly as compared with England Germany had been slow in setting out to annex colonies, and she is hardly to be blamed for looking toward the Philippines and tracts in China and Africa if England is approved for annexing Egypt and millions of fertile miles in other regions. The questions for historians to settle are whether in 1896 Germany had changed her legitimate purposes so as to threaten the civilized world or any particular nation in it, and exactly what the *"changed purposes"* were, as presented then to Mr. Hay in London by British government officials. I have seen no proof that she had changed her purposes, but, as I have shown, on the contrary, that Mr. Rhodes had schemed before 1877 to paint nearly all of the available earth red, and, backed by the imperial officials, had outlined a scheme in 1895 for dividing the world between the Russian and Anglo-Saxon peoples allied—which could only be done by breaking Germany. From 1895, if not earlier, Germany must prepare for "the Day," and her preparations to defend herself must give an opportunity to her *foes who had made the conspiracy against her* to ascribe her efforts to overwhelming ambition, and in general to misinterpret her every act of prudence to the world. It should be the first doctrine of history that assertion from an enemy source does not constitute proof, but it seems not to have occurred to Hay or to Thayer that mere statement from London was not enough to prove fellonious intent on the part of Germany and that the informers were not above suspicion of both national interest and duplicity, Chamberlain having just been implicated with Rhodes in Jameson's piratical raid in South Africa (as all the world believed the more because the investigating committee had not fully investigated) and Harcourt being considered insincere by even his own party, as "A New Liberal" testified.

Hay seems to have felt something of this, as his choice of the word "politician" shows. Did he know that Rhodes and his followers were themselves "thinking in continents" since 1877, with the purpose of "painting the map of the world red," and that the first step in the process after the unification of Africa was to be a division of the world (especially Germany) between the allies (Russia and the United Anglo-Saxon peoples)? He may have known all of this and thought it no worse than McKinley's duplicity, which he counts not against him, for these are the ways of the world that is after all very merry, and very bright with tinsel! As for *Republic vs. Empire,* that meant little to him—possibly he had come to like the ways of empire best. He may therefore have seen deeply into the Rhodes policies and have wished to bring the changes that they

implied—in short, he may have simply judged their evil as good in promise and to be winked at. He certainly showed penetration sometimes, for of the French-Russian alliance, which had just been announced in London in 1896, he remarked that France had sold herself like a prostitute and would not even receive a high price, a judgment that is being justified in this war, where poor France has lost far more than she can hope to gain, but Russia and England may hope to win, as Rhodes computed.

It is not to our purpose to go deeply into the motives that led McKinley and Hay and their circle to desire an alliance with England, secret if it must be, open if possible. Perhaps the "big business" of such men as Carnegie and Lodge predisposed them toward an imperialism of the type that supported Rhodes rather than toward a republicanism that hampered "big business" by anti-trust legislation. Not only Carnegie in 1893, but Sir George Grey in the same year, and Rhodes in 1895 had written articles expressing themselves for the incorporation of the United States in the British empire—Rhodes had held these ideas much earlier. Is it possible that Hay did not know this? As soon as he, then our ambassador to England, brought the question of alliance up in 1898, consulting influential friends by letter, Senator Lodge approved it heartily, perhaps then as now interested personally as well as in behalf of his state in the "big business" of making munitions. Alliance, of course, means wars to follow.

Hay to Lodge: "Your letter gave me the most gratifying account of feeling among the leading men of America that I have had from any source. It is a moment of immense importance, not only for the present but for all the future." "The leading men of America" who had expressed approval doubtless included Roosevelt and others of the Harvard group.

Was the motive of these men standing for alliance high and idealistic, defensible and appealing? If it had been they would have worked openly, not in secret. (1) Was it warmth of feeling for the mother country? Possibly it was to some extent, as in Carnegie's case, but then it is the hyphenated Americanism that men of this group have been rightly quick and loud in condemning. It now appears that this class of English-Americans have been our only alarming "hyphenates" for the past twenty years, and it is consistent with the Rhodes methods that they, who are themselves pro-English and working for an English alliance, have cast reproach on our German-Americans for warm regards to the sufferings of their mother-country, though not one of our German-Americans

has proposed to form a German-American alliance, or to involve the United States in war for Germany's sake. To continue the question of motive: (2) Was it because England had given to America the most precious of her national institutions? That question is open to debate, and other nations would have much to say. If one is to look to sources, the Dutch might maintain that little Holland gave what is best in her own institutions to England, as well as that she gave the most precious gifts to the United States, not only to New York, but even to New England— even to Harvard. (3) Was it because the men of "big business" in the two nations acting together could put money in their pockets? There is good evidence that it was. What ignoble and mercenary motives must our American poet, William Vaughn Moody, have been hearing when he stood on Boston Common beside the Shaw Memorial and, facing the monuments of a past of splendid ideals, was moved to write in his "Ode in Time of Hesitation,"

> "When we turn and question in suspense
> If these things be indeed after these ways,
> And what things are to follow after these,
> Our fluent men of place and consequence
> Fumble and fill their mouths with hollow phrase,
> Or for the end-all of deep argument
> Intone their dull commercial liturgies—
> I dare not yet believe! My ears are shut!
> I will not hear their thin satiric praise....
> We shall discern the right
> And do it tardily—O ye who lead,
> Take heed!
> Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite."

Men of Massachusetts, and Boston, and Harvard have heen foremost in defending and assisting the British Rhodes-imperialists in this war, and in assigning low motives to those who stand against them. Let them reexamine the evidence and see if they be not themselves again on the wrong side. In England the most open minds are realizing, even to-day,[2] the wiles of their secret foreign office and admitting its methods of bringing on this war. It is well that we should not forget that the same interested classes in Massachusetts once found good arguments for slavery and the slave trade, and that a generation ago their "gentlemen mobs" stoned Whittier and tried to hang Garrison to a lamp-post. Let them examine the life of Rhodes and the imperial "gang" who captured our diplomats twenty years ago by inventing "Pan-Germanism" just at the

[2] Neilson, *How Diplomats Make War.*

time when they themselves had determined to paint the map of the world British red by this attack of allies upon Germany, let them examine the means by which our information during this war, and before it, has been diverted and perverted to further the purposes of the empire; let them try to investigate the use that has been made of Rhodes's millions, bequeathed to be expended by a secret committee, to win America to an alliance with England. Does not all this secrecy prove that this cause cannot stand the light?

"Massachusetts, God forgive her,
She's a-kneelin' with the rest."

Most of our people to-day, and also a great body of English people, are not to be blamed for not understanding the situation in Europe and our relation to it, for they have been deliberately misled by masters of guile, as the following incidents will show. Some of our leaders have been fully aware of the ignoble and un-American policies that are being secretly carried out and they should be held to account. One likes to think that even those who yielded to the lower motives had been appealed to also by higher sentiments and traditions. Let them defend themselves,

"Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite."

I believe that the great body of our English-American people in New England, as throughout the country, is truly American at heart, as is proved by the fact that the race-sympathy of our English-Americans was strongly against Rhodes and his imperialism and *with the radical English party, the pro-Boers, in the Boer War.* By selection and descent they are of the very best that England has produced, and superior to the larger number of the English to-day in England, being the idealistic, radical element that England cast out as effectually as France cast out her Huguenots, and as the most independent element has been cast out from Ireland—all to our good fortune. It is only our imperialists of "big business" and "frenzied finance," in sympathy with the English Tory element, that are trying now to carry out the Rhodes war-program, though professing to be innocent of intent, chivalrous to small nations, even holy because fighting for humanity—*and against war*! A "moral gloss" indeed; as strong as the Johannesburg fake-telegram that pleaded in the names of the women and children!

In reading Hay's life one sometimes wonders whether stupidity or consummate deceit is the solution of the problems. In a letter

to Senator Lodge in 1898 he tells how he persuaded Mr. Chamberlain to give warm words of support to the project of an alliance between England and America, and how warmly Chamberlain gave them. Mr. Chamberlain must have been a good actor if he kept his face straight when he heard it, for he had been scheming for some time past how to get America to enter into an alliance, against her ideals, traditions and interests. With Rhodes, Chamberlain doubtless held the opinion that unless Great Britain could make the American alliance and the Russian alliance, and carry out her policies against Germany before 1920, she would sink to a third-rate power; while the United States would take first rank. They might well have thought that it would be difficult to persuade the United States to abet, and to follow! The following is the quotation from Hay's letter to Lodge just referred to:

"Among the political leaders on both sides I find not only sympathy, but a somewhat eager desire that the other fellow shall not be the more friendly. Chamberlain's startling speech was due partly to a conversation I had with him in which I hoped that he would not let the Opposition have a monopoly of goodwill to America. He is greatly pleased at the reception his speech met with on our side, and says that he 'don't care a hang what they say about it on the continent.'" Of course, "the continent" is Germany, always the "enemy" in mind in the nineties. Chamberlain's "startling speech," after warm references to "kinsmen across the Atlantic" (he chose to forget how many of the people in the United States are not from England and "kinsmen") contained these words: "I can go so far as to say, that terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together in an Anglo-Saxon alliance." There is no suggestion on either side that loss to the United States may be involved. Oh, that Mark Twain had been our ambassador in London! John Hay is distinctly of that half of the world that would look up to Rhodes as "an archangel with wings"—Mark Twain belongs to the other. Is it conceivable that if he had been our ambassador in London Mark Twain would have been persuading Chamberlain and Rhodes to take him into the lair of the Lion, *and be warm about it?* not knowing that they were scheming how to persuade him to enter? And Hay is thought to be a statesman! And he proceeds to violate his country's republican ideals, to tie it up in expense and danger in the Philippines, to lend its aid to the British to crush the South African republics, thereby giving Republican government a great setback in the history of the

world and strengthening empire, and to work in alliance with England for the destruction of Germany! Let future historians decide whether he was a trustful incompetent biassed by cater-cousinship, merely taking fair words at their face value and knowing nothing of further imperial purposes, or whether he was a profound schemer who knew the real motives and further policies but chose not to admit the real situation, while he pledged his support to an alliance meaning wars and the absorption of our republic in an empire. In the following years, while the splendid English Liberals (called in derision pro-Boers, although they were only pro-justice, and in the best sense pro-British) tried with all their might to keep Mr. Chamberlain from the war that the Rhodes policy ran in Africa, Hay and McKinley abetted the imperialists to the best of their ability. Hay sometimes had a sense that he had fallen from the old high ideals—witness his letter to John Bigelow, our veteran diplomatist, who had written him in the traditional American spirit concerning the Philippines:

Hay to John Bigelow, London, Sept. 5, 1898: "I fear that you are right about the Philippines, and I hope that the Lord will be good to us poor devils who have to take care of them. I marvel at your suggesting that we pay for them. I should have expected no less of your probity, but how many except those educated by you in the school of morals and diplomacy would agree with you? Where did I pass you on the road of life? You used to be my senior; now you are ages younger than I am.... and yet I am going to be Secretary of State for a little while!"

After such clear admission of an understanding of what he had become, the things that Hay did as Secretary of State in the Boer War seem not less than the conscious sin against the Holy Ghost, the unpardonable. Thayer says: "John Hay was among the few who understood the significance of the change from the very first moment, and he accepted it without looking back, or, so far as appears, without regrets.... He shaped all his work as Secretary of State with reference to it. *To place this country as speedily as possible in such relations with the rest of the world as became its character,* was henceforth his controlling purpose." This last statement means that he made his arrangements with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury to help in crushing the Boer republics, and even in devising measures to be used against Germany in the war that they, with Rhodes, projected before 1920. Proof of this and of his active hostility to Germany will be quoted in incidents presently.

President McKinley and Hay intended to propose an alliance

with England to Congress, but the mere mention of this purpose called forth such a storm of remonstrance from the country that they gave it up. In a few days hundreds of thousands of names were sent in through Irish-American societies, a convincing demonstration. The many public meetings held throughout this nation to pass resolutions, collect money for the Boer republics, and send supplies for the Boer prisoners of war in the Bermudas spoke the same strong sentiment. In Chicago an ambulance corps was fitted out; in Denver and Boston the city councils adopted resolutions of sympathy; public meetings were held in every part of the nation for protest; Edward Everett Hale led in relief work; but for the first time in its history the national government refrained from passing resolutions of sympathy because the president, who strongly dominated his party, opposed it. In every way he showed his willingness to let the republics go down, so reversing the policy of President Grant toward them when the British attacked them at Amajuba, and of President Cleveland when Dr. Jameson made his raid. He even permitted unusual violations of American rights, the most notable of which were rifling of mails under our flag in Africa, and treating foodstuffs as contraband of war. This argues that McKinley and Hay had discussed with officials in London even the policy they would follow in the projected European war to occur *before 1920*, the war against Germany, and is significant especially in connection with articles in the English press of the nineties on cutting off food supplies in case of war with Germany. An American ship filled with grain and billed for Africa was captured while crossing the Atlantic by a boat of the British navy. Some editorials made comments at the time that this was probably not a *bona fide* transaction, for the republics would hardly buy grain in the United States, but that it was perhaps intended as a precedent, to be quoted when food supplies were seized in the next war. The incident is worthy of the "Rhodes gang," and of wily and guileful fifteenth-century diplomacy on this side.

A short time before the South African war broke out President McKinley called Hay home from London and appointed him Secretary of State. At the close of the Boer war I happened to hear of the extreme dissatisfaction among the friends of John Sherman at McKinley's policy. Sherman had been Secretary of State during the time when Hay had been ambassador in London, but had not been consulted on all of these matters of the Spanish and African wars and would not have consented to the new policy, which was agreed on secretly while he was officially at the head of the depart-

ment. Hay and Chamberlain doubtless made their alliance or came to their "understanding" before the Spanish war, which McKinley professed to be trying to keep out of, and which he need not have fought, for there was no proof that the "Maine" was blown up by Spaniards, and Spain had just offered to come to an agreement on points under dispute.

Certain editorials written before the Spanish war in some of the "inspired" papers pointed out that the war, if it came, and especially the Philippines, if they were taken, would draw us out into world politics, and this has always seemed to me the probable reason why we went to war and acquired the islands. Spain had been impoverished by them, their people were Asiatic and not likely to become able to manage themselves as a republic even after our efforts to teach them, and strategically they are hard to defend. A genius at stategy, Napoleon, practically gave us Louisiana because it would be hard to defend, and Russia gave us Alaska for the same good reason, but McKinley and Hay possibly wanted to take the Philippines because when the day of our trial comes they wanted us to be so endangered that England could seem to deserve our gratitude by offering us assistance—and so the alliance would be made. This happened in a small way when Dewey entered Manila. The incident of the German admiral at the battle of Manila, of which so much has been made, illustrates imperialist efforts to make the most of trouble between the United States and Germany.

It was not very long since England had taken Egypt, and only a short time since she had tried to take the Boer republics—why should Germany, also wishing colonies, not have been thinking of capturing the Philippines? Our president helped to thwart her by actually taking them and then made them the occasion of our building a great navy, to save England and France the necessity of maintaining a fleet in the Far East. We became, in fact, the offensive arm of the British in the Far East,[3] and pulled the chestnuts out of the fire. The only people among us who can gain by our holding the islands are the munitions makers and a few bankers who will exploit mines and franchises; the nation must pay. While Spain is recovering from her possessions, having lost them, we who have acquired them shall continue to be weakened by holding them, in money, men and ideals, of which the greatest is our confused and violated ideals.

Sherman was anti-imperialist and "pro-Boer," and he and his friends fought the McKinley policies at the time of the Boer war,

[3] Usher, *Pan-Germanism*, chapter on "Position of the United States."

but were unable to change them. They were the more embittered because Sherman had been forced out of his seat in the Senate to give it to Mark Hanna as a reward for election services in McKinley's compaign, and because now he had been not only disregarded, but forced out of his position in the Department of State. Even Thayer, Hay's apologist, thinks that Sherman had been badly used—another instance of fifteenth-century guile, added to ingratitude.

My informant in this matter of anti-imperialist feeling was the Hon. F. W. Reitz, a man whose testimony on the South African situation should be taken into account by any who write history. Mr. Reitz, if any person, knew the whole story. Born in Africa, he was connected by birth and marriage with the foremost families of South Africa. His sister was the wife of Premier Schreiner of Cape Colony, who was the brother of Olive Schreiner the author. He had completed his education in a European university, and had distinguished himself in law before he entered public life. Preceding President Stein, Mr. Reitz had been at the head of the two republics in their most critical days. He was the president of the Orange Free State who made the treaty of alliance with the Transvaal, by which the two nations joined their forces if either should be attacked. After his removal to the Transvaal he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court, and later Secetary of State, which position he filled throughout the war, taking charge of the affairs of the nation after President Krüger removed to Europe. He is a man of insight and conviction, of calm and kindly nature, serious, but also gifted with a sense of humor, which, like Philip Freneau in our Revolutionary war and James Russell Lowell in the Mexican war, he used to keep up the spirits of his countrymen by a series of war poems in dialect. Mr. Reitz was an "Irreconcilable" and had been forbidden by Mr. Chamberlain to return to Pretoria, being made an exception to the Proclamation of Amnesty.

While considering what he and his family would do next Mr. Reitz came to this country, and while he was lecturing in Michigan and Iowa on the Boer war he and his wife were our guests for three or four weeks just after they had been in Philadelphia and Washington among our anti-imperialists. At this period, if ever, he would have given way to bitterness and shown poor judgment, but throughout this trying time he remained perfectly just, and deliberately as well as constitutionally moderate in statement. His disabilities have since been removed and he is now a member of the senate in the South African parliament. The following incident, of which the last part was told me by Mr. and Mrs. Reitz, illus-

trates the length to which McKinley and Hay were willing to go in their partisanship for England at the time of the Boer war.

Soon after the South African war began our consul in Pretoria notified the State Department that the British were interfering with our mails and opening state documents under our flag on trains in Africa, but nothing was done about it by our president and Mr. Hay, outside of attempting to discredit the report. When the consul started for America to lay his evidence before those interested, he and his report were held up to ridicule before he arrived and he was at once superseded by Adalbert Hay, the son of our Secretary of State.

Adalbert Hay was very young and had had no previous experience in foreign affairs; his father was known to be hostile to the cause of the republics to which he was now accredited—in fact was understood to have bargained them away by secret diplomacy—but these were evidently not sufficient reasons against his selection for the post at this time. When young Mr. Hay started to fill his post as consul at Pretoria, his father sent him by way of London, where he visited *en route* Lord Salisbury, the very man who was conducting the war by which the republics he was accredited to were being done to death! Has fifteenth-century politics anything to exceed this in ingenious and studied insult?—an affront given weak friends suffering defeat, to flatter and reassure a powerful friend hostile to them, and this affront given by the very person that bargained them away and betrayed them? There is something barbaric about it—it belongs earlier than the fifteenth century, to the period of Regan and Oswald!

The sequel is brighter and more creditable to human nature. When Mr. Adalbert Hay reached Pretoria he was received in a friendly spirit by President Krüger and Mr. Reitz, the Secretary of State. He was entertained at the home of Mr. Reitz, and proved himself then and always kindly and straightforward. When the Boer government at Pretoria was broken up, he returned to America a true friend to many of the Boers whom he met in Africa, and leaving many friends behind. In Washington, after he returned, he was frank in correcting misunderstandings about the Boers and began collecting money for Boer relief, which led to a difference between him and his father; but after his death (he fell from a window in an upper story of his club, where he was sitting to take the air one very warm night) his father contributed money in his memory for the relief of the destitute in South Africa. That was

after the war was over, when the republics had been annexed to the empire.

Another incident that shows the feeling of President McKinley to the British and the Boers is the following, which also, I think, has never appeared in print. It was told us by Mr. Wolmarans, one of the committee of three sent over by the republics to lay their cause before our president. When the hour appointed for the interview came the envoys were attended by a number of people, including their secretary and Mr. Montague White, the former representative of the Transvaal in London. President McKinley listened to their address, then took up a typewritten document which had been prepared before they entered, and read it as his answer. We are told by Benjamin Franklin that the American Indians had a custom of making no reply to a delegation from another tribe until at least a day had elapsed, so that the other tribe might know that its communication had been duly considered. This was held to be a point of dignity and good manners, but such dignity and good manners were not observed at the White House that day. When his "reply" was finished the President asked the delegates whether they had noticed the beautiful view from the window of the room in which they were standing, and led them to see it, and while they were looking at the view that he pointed out, he left the room. No time was given them for discussion.

One might think that this would cap the climax of the incident, but not so. In the course of the interview the secretary happened to stray about the room, and at the open door which led into the next room found Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador, sitting within earshot of the proceedings. It is to be hoped that American diplomacy never reached a lower ebb.

After President McKinley's death, we who had felt the error of those days had hopes that President Roosevelt would be the strong man who would set things right. At once imperialist editorials began chorusing the praises of our Secretary of State and hoping fervidly that he would be retained, and very soon an announcement followed that President Roosevelt had invited Hay to retain his position and would carry out the McKinley policies. He seems to have carried them out, always and consistently. It is far from me to wish to detract from the good things that President Roosevelt did. He proved himself a strong and able man in some things, but he failed to take the greatest opportunity that Fate gave into his hands, of being just and friendly to all foreign nations. In his autobiography his ideal for his foreign policy is high and thor-

oughly American in character, but he did not reverse the policy toward the South African republics, with whom we had had special treaties signed by President Grant; he refused to read or even receive the written statement sent him by Korea, when Japan was annexing that little country, with whom we also had a treaty; he himself, with Secretary Hay, violated the little republic of Colombia, breaking the treaty we had with her and not even compensating her generously, and yet he has been violent in reproaching the United States for not going armed to the aid of Belgium, assigning the reason that she is a "little nation" that had a treaty with us—although she had given various evidences that she intended to fight on the side of France, and although Germany had proposed to England to pledge herself not to invade Belgium if England would do the same, and had offered Belgium to do her no injury if she would merely permit transit—far less than the Allies have since exacted from Greece. It seems that Roosevelt's sympathy is as 1 : 3 at the most, and that in the fourth case it is a Rhodes-imperial pretext. He cast in his lot with the "Rhodes gang," and when he became a candidate for the presidency one of the candidates for the vice-presidency on his ticket was John Hays Hammond, the mining engineer who had worked with Jameson and Rhodes in Johannesburg, who was one of the "reformers" that devised the fake telegram. Roosevelt is discredited in that he would have accepted Hammond as his running mate, to manage by his Rhodes tricks the making of our treaties, and in case of our president's death to become our president, in charge of foreign affairs.

When Mr. Reitz was in the United States he was told by a person in contact with President Roosevelt that the President would be pleased to talk the African situation over with him, but he did not act on the suggestion, for there was nothing to be said except in reproach, and that would not be worth while.

One letter in Thayer's *Life of John Hay* is evidence that Hay and Roosevelt were not in a frame of mind friendly to Germany and anxious to make the most of incidents that betokened friendliness on the part of officials representing Germany. By Thayer this incident is quoted only as evidence of Hay's humor and playfulness. but it is also evidence that he played a dangerous game and maliciously fomented ill-feeling against Germany, and that President Roosevelt was far from blameless. The incident reported is this: the Emperor of Germany had sent President Roosevelt a medal such as he had presented to the German soldiers who fought against the Boxer rebels in China, intending it as a delicate recog-

nition of our soldier-president, and certain that his gift would not be open to criticism on the ground of its intrinsic value, for our Constitution forbids our presidents to receive such gifts. The gift was not acknowledged speedily and cordially, and an attaché placed himself in the path of the Secretary of State as a reminder of his monarch's interest:

Letter of John Hay to President Roosevelt: "State Department, Nov. 12, 1901. Count Quadt has been hovering around the State Department for three days in ever narrowing circles and at last swooped upon me this afternoon, saying that the Foreign Office and even the Palace *Unter den Linden* was in a state of intense anxiety to know how you received His Majesty's Chinese medal, conferred only on the greatest sovereigns. As I had not been authorized by you to express your emotions I had to sail by dead reckoning, and considering the vast intrinsic value of the souvenir —I should say at least thirty-five cents— and its wonderful artistic merit, representing the German eagle eviscerating the Black Dragon, and its historical accuracy, which gives the world to understand that Germany is IT, and the rest of the world nowhere, I took the responsibility of saying to Count Quadt that the President could not have received the medal with anything but emotions of pleasure commensurate with the high appreciation he entertains for the Emperor's Majesty—and that a formal acknowledgment would be made in due course. He asked me if he was at liberty to say anything like this to his government, and I said he was at liberty to say anything whatever the spirit would move him to utter. I give thanks to whatever powers there be that I was able to allow him to leave the room without quoting *Quantula sapientia.*"

Mr. Hay must have been an excellent dissembler if the German diplomat did not see the tongue in the cheek. Again this is Oswald diplomacy; and the man who writes such a letter is piling up the fuel to start the fire of war. This letter implies perfect agreement on the part of President Roosevelt and his Secretary of State.

I do not remember that President Roosevelt made an effort to secure an alliance with England in his administration, but this was done by his successor, President Taft, who was named as candidate by the Republican convention because Roosevelt gave him the strongest of support, using the argument that Taft was thoroughly acquainted with the situation and would carry on the "policies" of the Administration. This he proceeded to do, and in March, 1911, proposed to make a treaty with England providing for *un-*

limited arbitration for all time. This, of course was greeted by a chorus of approval by English speakers and editors.

Strangely enough, Sir Edward Grey's peace speech was delivered while he was supporting estimates for greater naval expenditures, consistently with Rhodes's advice. That year England, Russia and France spent £24,241,226 against Austria and Germany's £11,710,859; by 1914 the Entente were spending £43,547,555 against the Triple Allies' £17,605,204, this last including Italy's expenditure; and long before 1911 the Entente had secret agreements as to mobilizing and plans of campaign, that only the small inner circle knew, not including other members of the Cabinet, unless Mr. Asquith. In the summer of 1911 the Moroccan incident all but precipitated war. On the authority of William T. Stead we know that the British envoys went to the conference instructed to bring on war, and Lord Roberts in a signed article tells that then the British navy was assembled and ready for action. But that time Russia did not mobilize and so Germany would not declare war, though she had been deliberately affronted. When President Taft proposed *unlimited arbitration for all time* with England did he know that this danger of European war was to be created in 1911 by England? And why did he not try to bind us to Germany by a like treaty at the same time? Also why did he send a squadron of our navy to visit the nations now Allies, but not to visit Germany? Immediately upon his proposing unlimited arbitration with England for all time, Sir Edward Grey's speech took it that "this would probably lead to their following with an agreement to join each other in any case when one of them had a quarrel with a third nation *that had refused to arbitrate.*"

And this phrasing, "a third nation that had refused to arbitrate," throws light upon (1) the next attempt to bind the nations by arbitration treaties, and (2) the proposal made by Sir Edward Grey just before the war in 1914 that Germany subject her cause to arbitration, even while Russia was mobilizing, when every day lost would place Germany at the mercy of her foes and result in their fighting the war on her territory when they were fully ready—another instance that shows how carefully imperial methods are thought out. Did President Taft know that these arbitration treaties that he proposed could be "worked" in this way to enable the Allies to get the best of Germany?

When President Taft and Sir Edward Grey were first proposing unlimited arbitration, the British editors were mightily pleased, but American editors were not. The *Washington Post* ex-

pressed the national feeling when it said, " 'Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none,' is part of the unwritten constitution of the United States." Soon it became clear, as in McKinley's administration, that an open alliance would not be acceptable to this nation. Congress was strongly against it, as well as the press, but no sooner had Congress adjourned than President Taft again advanced the project, and again had to drop it. The Chicago *Inter Ocean* called it "bubble-blowing —a splendid jug-handled arrangement for us to be obliged to quarrel with every European nation for England's sake! For that is what it would come to." Finally President Taft, convinced that unlimited arbitration was impracticable, began holding unofficial conversations with M. Jusserand, the ambassador from France, with the result that he finally arranged arbitration treaties with England and France, but not with Germany, who perhaps saw her danger. If Germany also had signed she would have been obliged either to break her treaty of arbitration while Russia was mobilizing, or to suffer the consequences—invasion when Russia and the other Allies were fully ready to attack her, when no chance was left her to push the war to their territory.

When one sees these methods, that Rhodes would surely have applauded, one must question whether there is a chance that the holy names of "peace" and "arbitration" have not been used among us these last few years to cloak the policy of war that was proposed against Germany before 1920. More than a suspicion has grown upon me, knowing the Rhodes policies and imperial methods, that our arbitration treaties and peace societies have been designed by the imperialists as another effort to "throw a moral gloss over policies dubious if not actually immoral," claiming "benevolence" while ruthlessly working for "extermination." Our small "ring" working for alliance and peace meant to join the British in this Rhodes war against Germany. Failing to bind Germany by the second type of arbitration treaties, Sir Edward Grey nevertheless proposed to her in 1914, while Russia was mobilizing, to submit her cause to arbitration, so placing her under a moral cloud before the public even if he could not bind her as he had wished.

Another evidence of laying plans far ahead to crush Germany by the arbitration treaties is shown in the following quotation from *Figaro,* 1911, published in Paris at the time of Taft's proposal for arbitration treaties: "If other nations do not join the movement, those who have pledged for arbitration should adopt the principle of boycotting by inserting a clause in agreements that they should

suspend all relations of commerce, transportation and postal service with any country warring upon the signers."

This is not only against Germany, but also against us and all other neutral nations. Will our imperialists and anglophiles acquiesce, though they are so determined to maintain our rights to sail on enemy ships that they would plunge us into war with Germany for it, while at the same time they have not maintained rights in Mexico, but recall us from the danger zone there where many Americans have been killed just because they were Americans?

And after all of this, what must be thought of the latest of peace societies that aims *to secure peace by preparing us for war and binding us by treaty to fight the nation that refuses to arbitrate?* Preisdent Taft is its president—he who tried to bind us to England, but not to Germany, by a treaty of unlimited arbitration for all time, just before Sir Edward Grey tried to precipitate war in 1911 by insulting Germany, and who made arbitration treaties that could be "worked" against Germany while her allied enemies were arming. John Hays Hammond is its vice-president—he who wrote the fake-telegram, appealing for assistance for women and children who were not in danger, two months before it was guilefully sent out by Rhodes. This spring, when that "Society to Ensure Peace by Preparing for War" was forming, a member of the British Parliament lecturing in this country told us that an attempt will be made in our Congress to frame new arbitration treaties containing this clause. Is it likely that such treaties would be used to do justice to all nations, or that John Hays Hammond and the other tricksters who planned the arbitration schemes against Germany in the past would manage by a fake-telegram or other equally unscrupulous and more clever means to "throw a moral gloss' over their unholy policies and make it seem that we ought to go to war as they desire?

We shall not need to devote space to the other acts of President Taft nor to those of President Wilson, which are still fresh in our aching memories. John Brisbane Walker in his Cooper Union Speech has summed up the case well in his eight charges that President Wilson has not been for America first, but for England. President Wilson, like President Roosevelt, is doubtless prejudiced because he has read much English history from English sources. He has been fighting for Duessa, the Empire and "big business," while our true Una is abandoned and strays without her natural protector. May he see the wiles of the enchantress, and come back to defend our ideal.

And what of our prospects if Mr. Hughes should be our next president? It is clear that Roosevelt wanted to be president himself to carry out his plans, but both he and Taft have expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied, since the long conference that they held with the new candidate—the conference of Roosevelt and Hughes was reported in the papers to have been three hours long, and to have been held so secretly that even the waiters were not in the room except when specially summoned. Why such secrecy? It is in accord with too much secrecy that has gone before.

And why all of this preparedness? There is no person in this country who would not want a preparedness for defense, and an efficiency equal to German efficiency in that truly holy cause. Is one not justified in hazarding a conjecture that we are preparing to enter this war on the first likely pretext, and to be ready to take part at the next turn of the Rhodes diplomatic screw, when Russia will be the victim, along with Japan, who has risen into power since 1895 and is now allied with Russia for protection of the East? When I say that that will be the next Rhodes war if all goes according to schedule, I find that even people who have an unusual knowledge of history do not know what I mean, for our busy lives are too full of local affairs to permit most of us to wander so far afield as Africa in our reading. But a few months ago I talked with a man who understood perfectly, an English gentleman who had been in Oxford when Rhodes was there and knew him personally. This gentleman not only understood what the Rhodes wars are, but proved his mastery of the Rhodes policies by saying, "The next European war will be against Russia, and Germany will fight as an ally of England," meaning the broken Germany that he expects to come out of this war. Japan may well be more afraid of us than we are of her if our Rhodes imperialists get their way. To-day Russia and Japan are England's allies, but "perfidious Albion" cannot be counted on to-morrow. When the last of the independent nations have been broken, the map can be painted red—if the people of the United States will consent.

If Great Britain is successful in this war, the fruits that she garners will be exactly what Rhodes planned before 1895—Germany's African colonies lying on the route from the Cape to Cairo, and the breaking up of Germany as a world power, carrying with it the destruction of her commerce abroad. Incidentals "to the good" will be also the relative weakening of all other strong European nations and a prolongation of their weakness through the long period to come when they will be repaying the money they have

borrowed from her, and the interest on it. The only other nation that can gain much for the present is Russia, and her prospects for the future are not good. Japan offers a new and different problem, which this paper cannot attempt to discuss—but observers must realize that the United States is expected to fight her soon. The usual means by which England reduces the power of strong rivals proportionally to her own is to incite them to fight each other without herself striking a blow—and let it not be forgotten that we also are her great rival, the greatest if we accept the judgment of Napoleon when he signed the deed giving us Louisiana and of Rhodes when "1920" was written. Our true eastern policy should be an honest friendliness with China and Japan. Japan would willingly grant, as China has done, such restrictions of immigration as would safeguard our country, and would offer such privileges of investment as China would gratefully give us since we returned the surplus indemnity money. That act of common honesty has been called exceedingly shrewd diplomacy on our part by the nations that kept their surplus indemnity money—and so it doubtless is, for it still holds true that honesty is the best policy. How much has not England paid in money, men, and honor for her Rhodes, whom she shielded when he stooped to dishonor for her gain? and how much will she not pay for him in years to come? and what will be our penalty for McKinley and John Hay? May it not be a war with Japan! She doubtless fears us because she has seen us from the days of the Spanish war living by a secret alliance with England, conquering Asiatic islands, helping to conquer African republics, policing the waters of the Pacific so that England may use her fleet elsewhere, and adding boats upon boats to our navy, possibly to use them against her and China. Shall we profit if we help to annex China and Japan to the British empire? After we helped Great Britain to annex the South African republics, she repaid us by cleverly inserting a clause into her law regarding the importation of machinery, that effectually excluded American industrial machines from Africa.

The hope of our poor world at this crisis seems to me to be in the United States, and to lie in justice and friendliness to all nations, and in making a notable success of the Republic. Since I have understood the Rhodes policies and methods of the empire in South Africa I have never been able to hear with patience the frequently made assertions that a republic is the most corrupt form of government and that an English king has less power than an American president. The truth seems to be that in our republic

our political "rings" can be broken and that we have held more investigations and arrived at more disagreeable truths than the empires have. Could Canada conduct an investigation of the matters of which I have spoken, though she pour out her blood and treasure for the imperial cause? Who ever heard of any muck-raking in the Russian empire? But it is the first principle of public health that muck must not only be raked, but cleaned out. In the British empire it is clear that matters are hushed up and that the highest officials, including the king, constitute a "ring" that cannot be investigated. Even the farce of Jameson's trial would not have occurred if that genius at world-politics, President Krüger, had not "waited for the turtle to show its head" before he struck at it, and then sent Dr. Jameson to London for trial. Our political "rings" are not hard to reach, and we can investigate if our people demand it. Also, we have no official who "can do no wrong," or who, having done wrong, is beyond impeachment and its penalty.

The greatest question before the American people just now is this of alliances and foreign wars, and it is essential that all parties should announce their platform of principles and purposes. Every time that our presidents have moved toward open alliance with England this nation has shown its disapproval so strongly that the matter has been dropped, as I have shown. The astonishing votes for Ford at the primaries this year spoke the same national feeling—*no foreign alliance, no war.* In Ohio and Pennsylvania the vote showed Roosevelt so far behind Ford that he could not hope to carry an election; the people have spoken against him as they spoke against Taft, and many good judges on public matters believe that he will never again emerge to win an election. That vote is an argument that no man can carry an election here if it is understood that he purposes foreign alliance and war. If President Wilson has a chance of reelection it is because he has not yet committed us to war, much as he has done that is unjust and dangerous. Many people still believe that he does not want war, as he says that he does not. If Mr. Hughes purposes war, he has a chance of election only because he has not announced himself. If these two candidates purpose alliance or war after the nation has shown such evidences that it does not want either alliance or war, they are playing a game of bunco on our people in not announcing their stand.

And among our people a profound distrust is rising. Only to-day it was pointed out to me that German-Americans have not been put on committees for the coming republican campaign, and

the bitter forecast was made that this probably meant Hughes for President, Roosevelt for Secretary of State, and both for war. I am not German myself, I have not known many Germans; but our German-Americans seem to me to have been excellent citizens and to have shown themselves wonderfully patient and devoted under the bad treatment they and their mother country have been receiving. All attempts to prove them implicated in violence and treason have proved fruitless—and only a few German citizens have done far less than might have been reasonably expected in the way of violence. Then why discriminate against our German-Americans, if the Republican party means justice to German-Americans here and to Germany abroad in case of Hughes's election?

The two policies from which we must choose—let us be clear on this matter—*are Rhodes imperialism and America finally again subordinate to England in a map painted British red,* or *the United States still the Great Republic and leading the world by her example to a friendliness that enriches all by commerce instead of hate that impoverishes all, even the one who wins, by war.* Rhodes and his imperialists realized that if his policies were not successful before 1920, including the alliance with the United States, the United States would become before 1920 the leading power of the world—as it has done. In this century just past, most strongly in the five years just past—when China, Portugal, South Africa, and Ireland have tried to become republics—this world tendency toward American ideals is proved. We may still conquer the world in peace by our idealism, even England. Shall we disappoint the hopes of those who struggle, by ourselves giving up what has been our most precious acquisition and their star of hope? And is this change to be brought about by the secret machinations of a small group of our own interested officials against the will of the people? In the century that is past the British empire has waged almost perpetual wars for conquest and power, with the result that her people are the most poverty-stricken in western Europe, and according to her own statistics have degenerated greatly physically. Our splendid Canadian of Toronto, Mr. McDonald, tells as a peace argument how the men of his clan in Scotland have dwindled in size as a result of the wars of the empire—if we send out our young men into imperial wars we shall likewise attain riches for a few munitions makers and bankers now, but poverty and degeneration for the nation at large, and final extinction as a republic for all.

Will our presidential candidates make clear their position on foreign alliance and war? One profoundly wise suggestion on

what we should have instead of war was reported in the New York *Times* last spring, in an interview with Henry Ford, which was *that we should spend one-fourth as much money as a war would cost us in trying to find out who gets up and disseminates this agitation for war.* If either President Wilson or Mr. Hughes will announce a policy of friendship with all nations and entangling alliances with none and will pledge himself to such an investigation as Ford suggested, the votes cast for Ford in the primaries assure him an overwhelming majority. A Ford policy of peace and investigation, or a secret and Rhodes imperial policy of wars—which shall it be?

God give us wisdom, and preserve our republic to be a friend and guide to the nations. God speed the right!

THE LEIBNIZ BICENTENARY.

THE current number of *The Monist* (October, 1916) is devoted to a commemoration of the scientific and philosophical work of Leibniz and its influences on modern thought. It is just two hun-

LEIBNIZ'S HOUSE IN HANOVER.

dred years since Leibniz died, and thus it is fitting, as well as useful, that we should all remember just now rather particularly the mortal Leibniz and his undying work.

In the first article, "Leibniz's Life and Work," C. Deslile Burns gives a brilliant account of Leibniz's life and his public activities, especially in the founding of learned academies.

Philip E. B. Jourdain, in an article on "The Logical Work of Leibniz," gives an account of Couturat's monumental work on the subject, and supplements it with a fuller account of some important parts of Leibniz's own work and the later developments of his "principle of continuity."

JOHANN HEINRICH LAMBERT.

In an article on "Leibniz and Descartes," C. Delisle Burns attempts to estimate: (1) The dependence of Leibniz upon Descartes for his conceptions of method; (2) His relation to Descartes in psychological questions; and (3) His dependence upon the Cartesian mechanism in physical science.

In "The development of Leibniz's Monadism," T. Stearns Eliot deals with the prejudices, traditions, and suggestions which

combined with the central motive in forming Leibniz's philosophical system.

Prof. Florian Cajori, in "Leibniz's 'Image of Creation,'" gives an interesting account of the shape which Leibniz's discovery and advocacy of the binary system of numeration in arithmetic took in his mind.

In "Leibniz's Monads and Bradley's Finite Centers," T. Stearns

BERNARD BOLZANO.

Eliot writes on the analogy between Leibniz's monads and F. H. Bradley's "finite centers."

In "The Manuscripts of Leibniz on his Discovery of the Differential Calculus," J. M. Child gives annotated translations of (1) the famous cancelled postscript, on Leibniz's early studies, to the letter from Leibniz to Jakob Bernoulli of April 1703, and (2) the *Historia et Origo* of about 1714.

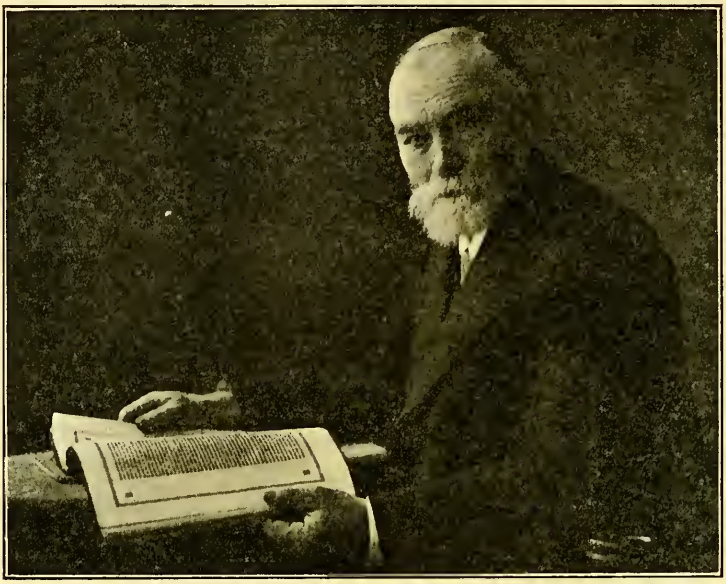
This series of translations from Leibniz manuscripts will be

continued in the following number of *The Monist* (January, 1917), which will also contain articles on other mathematicians whose work has followed in the same direction as that of Leibniz. For instance, Miss D. M. Wrinch, in the article "Bernard Bolzano (1781-

HERMANN GRASSMANN.

1848)," will give an account of one of the most profound and original philosophers and mathematicians of the first half of the nineteenth century, who shows exceptionally clearly the influence of Leibniz's thought.

In the January *Monist,* Mr. A. E. Heath will also present a deeply interesting biography of Hermann Grassmann, the strikingly original mathematician and lovable man who, just seventy years ago realized Leibniz's dream of a geometrical characteristic by an application of the powerful methods invented by him. With this article are connected in idea A. E. Heath's other articles: "The Neglect of the Work of Grassmann" and "The Geometrical Analysis of Grassmann and Its Connection with Leibniz's Characteristic."



Mit freundlichem Gruss
Ihr G. Frege.

GOTTLOB FREGE.

All this material in celebration of the Leibniz bicentenary has been gathered together and edited by Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, a Cambridge scholar who is greatly interested in the realm of mathematics, physics and logic, and has made valuable contributions to the literature of these subjects.

He sends us also most of the portraits published in this number, together with the facts about them. Besides Leibniz, Lambert, Bolzano and Grassmann they include the three chief representatives of Leibniz's thought in modern logic—Frege, Peano and Russell.

The frontispiece is the very characteristic portrait of Leibniz prefixed to the first volume of the first series of Onno Klopp's edition of Leibniz's works. The original is an engraving by Weger of Leibniz and bears the inscription:

> "Haec habui quae scivi, et laetus recta peregi:
> Quaeque relicta jacent, mentem tamen acta sequuntur."

The first illustration in the text is Leibniz's house in Hanover, from a photograph kindly given to Mr. Jourdain by Miss M. E.

GIUSEPPI PEANO.

Butler. The portrait of Lambert is from a lithograph by Engelmann and Co. which appears as frontispiece to Daniel Huber's *Johann Heinrich Lambert nach seinem Leben und Wirken aus Anlass der zu seinem Andenken begangenen Säcularfeier in drei Abhandlungen dargestellt* (Basel, 1829)—a rare book of which a copy is in the Venn Collection of Books on Logic in the library of

the University of Cambridge, England. Below the portrait in Huber's book are the lines of Lambert:

"Auf unserer Erde werden die organischen Körper unter allen übrigen am häufigsten und leichtesten herfürgebracht...Alles wozu in der Welt die Mittel am häufigsten vorräthig sind, muss mit unter die Absicht der Schöpfung gerechnet werden."

The portrait of Bernard Bolzano is taken from the frontispiece to his *Lebensbeschreibung* (Sulzbach, 1836), an autobiographical

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

sketch. The portrait of Hermann Grassmann is from a photograph in the possession of Dr. Paul Carus.

The portraits of Frege and Peano are from photographs (by Emil Tesch of Jena and M. Fiorino of Turin respectively) given to Mr. Jourdain many years ago by Professors Frege and Peano. Finally, the portrait of Bertrand Russell is from a photographic group (by Stearn of Cambridge, England) of the members of the Cambridge Moral Sciences Club, which was taken in the early summer of 1914.

THE PRECURSOR, THE PROPHET, AND THE POPE.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE BAHAI MOVEMENT.

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON.

SO long as sectarian religion plays a notable part in the activities of the human race, the religious prophets and the cults that have them as central figures will offer no small interest to those who study the social organism. One of these prophets and the sect that has grouped itself around his name—the cult of Baha'u'llah, the case which is perhaps the most pregnant of all in the instruction it can afford—I took up in *The Open Court* of August 1915, in an article entitled "The Persian Rival to Jesus, and His American Disciples." Of the reception accorded to this I have assuredly no cause to complain; my little essay found a far wider circle of readers than I had anticipated, and impartial reviewers gave it an appreciation that was most gratifying. The Bahais, it is true, have not looked with favor upon my efforts; but, though they voice their disapproval in no uncertain terms, and denounce me as an enemy to "the sacred cause," they utterly fail to meet the points I raise in criticism of the Bahai movement. Objection is made to my strictures as a whole, but there is no attempt to take them up in detail and show that I am in error; I am met by reiteration of the Bahai pretentions and passionate denunciation of all who dare question them, but by nothing that can be deemed a reply.

One implication that the Bahai apologists would seem to make is however worthy of notice: my information, they say, is drawn from "turbid sources" and I narrate misdeeds attributed to the Babis and Bahais by their adversaries. In other words, it is contended that in my account of the two sects I have given credence solely to their enemies, and have taken pains to gather together all that these enemies say, without weighing in the other scale the attempts made by Bahai writers to exculpate their heroes from the accusations brought against them. To demand an impartial hearing

is wholly reasonable, but had I not, in fact, already given precisely such a consideration to both sides in my examination of Bahaism, I would never have allowed myself to pass judgment upon the movement, much less have published the results of my investigations. I began to investigate the subject wholly without prejudice, and it was only after carefully examining the Bahai claims that I acquired, as a "postjudice," a strong conviction that they were false. It is to be noted, indeed, as a fact not without its significance, that the Bahai advocates, instead of frankly taking up the grave accusations that history brings against the Babi and Bahai leaders and controverting them one by one, have always adopted the policy of silence. Hearing both sides is the very last thing that the Bahai apologists would wish an inquirer to do. A great part of the voluminous literature put forth in Bahai propaganda quite ignores the serious charges that have been brought against the Bab and Baha. And where, by exception, reference is made to a few of these charges —I say "a few," for never have I found all or even the greater number taken into account—they will be carelessly dismissed with a "defense" largely based on the supposition that the "high spirituality" shown in the Babi and Bahai scriptures makes any accusations against their sacred authors wholly incredible.

This stand, it need hardly be said, has not been taken by me. I am compelled to regard it as untenable. No sober minded investigator could write history on such principles. All our experience goes to show it to be not alone in art that men with the morality of a Benvenuto Cellini produce works whose inspirations to us are of the highest. Again and again do we find writers and preachers whose lives will not stand the light of day upholding the most exalted ideals and advocating a lofty morality that they themselves do not practice. For example, "The Universal Prayer" of Alexander Pope (which is decidedly above the best of what Baha'u'llah has put forth) breathes a spirit quite unlike that which ruled the daily life of the despicable little hunchback who penned it. Even, then, were all the utterances of the Bab and Baha'u'llah pregnant with lofty inspirations; even though we found nothing but exhortations to the highest morality and could draw from them a moral code of supreme excellence, we could not on that account infer that the career of either prophet was without stain; much less could we safely take it for granted that their disciples were faultless and that no discreditable deeds have marred the records of the Babi and Bahai sects. To ascertain how they really conducted themselves we must consider their practices as well as their precepts.

This I have done, and I have by no means accepted indiscriminately all that has been said against the Babis and Bahais, but have carefully weighed in the balance the pros and cons of each case. Many of the derogatory statements made by the enemies of the new sects I did not see fit even to mention in my previous article. I did not, for instance, put down the statement of a European traveler that the Bab in his mercantile career at Bushire, before he became a religious reformer, "was noted as a person of irregular and eccentric habits, possessing somewhat indefinite ideas of *meum* and *teum* and consequently better known than trusted." Neither did I record the tale of the believer who went with gifts to the heads of his sect at Adrianople, and was scandalized by coming upon the two brothers, Azal and Baha, in the course of an unseemly quarrel and hearing each of these saintly characters cast aspersions upon the chastity of his brother's wives and reproach the rival prophet for practices not mentionable in polite society but only (in the Occident) discussed in works on sexual pathology. I did not give currency to the Azalite contention that at Acre a Bahai could secede from the flock of Baha'u'llah only at the peril of his life; that two men who fell away in their allegiance were murdered by the disciples of the Blessed Perfection in the Caravansary of the Corn-sellers and the bodies buried in quick-lime on the premises where they were ultimately unearthed; and that four other recusants only escaped a like fate by precipitate flight from the town. Nor did I refer to Haji Jafar, a Bahai of Acre, who had lent to Baha the sum of twelve hundred pounds, and demanded, with inconvenient importunity, the payment of this debt. The result, the Azalites say, was that at the command of Mirza Aka Jan of Kashan, one of the lieutenants of the prophet, the old man was killed and his body thrown out of the window of the upper room which he occupied in the caravansary, the report being then spread by the Bahais that their victim had cast himself out of the window to die for the sake of "the Beloved."

Again, in my former article, I told of but two Babi insurrections, those of Mazandaran and of Zanjan,[1] though these were

[1] In my previous article on page 464, line 6, read, not "in the province of Zanjan," but "at Zanjan, in the province of Khamsa." Other errata are: page 464, line 8 from below, read "W. H. Dreyfus, in his *Le Babisme et le Behaisme*"; p. 466, line 28, read "For fourteen more years Azal was the nominal leader"; p. 468, line 2 from below, read "a fight in which two Azalites and one Bahai were killed"; p. 473, line 9 from below, read "Mirza Jani's History"; p. 474, line 9, read "Dr. Jessup"; line 12 from below, read "to add to the Bayan eight Vahids of nineteen sections each." On p. 471 I erred in stating that Baha waited until the death of one of his first two wives before taking a third; he had three wives (or two wives and a concubine) at a time.

not the only ones brought about in Persia by the followers of the Bab. There were, among others, two insurrections at Niriz, the first of which began at the same time as that of Zanjan, but did not have quite as long a duration as the latter, coming to an end the day after the Bab was executed at Tabriz. The Mohammedans say that in the first Niriz insurrection the Babis gave free vent to their passion for loot, and moreover indulged in arson and the indiscriminate slaughter of Moslems without regard to age or sex. This particular accusation however does not seem to be verified, and I have given it no credit. Yet my rejection of the charge is based entirely on the lack of sufficient evidence in its support. I cannot regard the behavior ascribed to the Babis at Niriz as in any way inconsistent with the character of the Babi insurgents. The leader in these Niriz disorders was that very Seyyid Yahya of Darab who so proudly boasted that he intended with his own hands to kill his father if the latter did not accept the new religion of the Bab (a fact handed down to us, in proof of the holiness of the sainted Seyyid, by a Babi historian), and a man who would kill his own father for unbelief might, we can well believe, not scruple to put to death the infidel women and children of Niriz.

In fairness we must admit that the Bab himself did not sanction the wanton slaughter of those who rejected his revelation. He explicitly bade his followers to spare the lives of all infidels save those who, in the Holy Wars to which the Bab obligated his people, might be killed defending their hearths and homes from the Babi bands. But the sweet mercies of the Bab extended only to life and limb, not to property; he urged his disciples to strip the unbelievers to the skin; so when Mulla Mohammed Ali at Zanjan gathered together all the valuables that could be found in the houses of the wealthy townfolk he was merely following out the precepts of the *Bayan*. To loot was, with the Babis, the performance of a religious duty provided the victims were infidels and were systematically despoiled of their goods under the efficient directions of a Babi chieftain. Individual acts of pillage were frowned upon by the Bab, and he expressly tells his people that when, as merchants, they do business with Europeans they must meet their financial engagements with the most scrupulous exactitude. The reason he assigns for this is interesting; it is not because infidel European creditors have a right to payment of what is owing them, but because Babi debtors who do not pay Europeans may suffer very unpleasant consequences. As intimated above, I have not given credence to the report that the Bab, as a Bushire merchant, was guilty

of fraudulent practices, yet, in consideration of the doctrines he taught, those of us who agree with Archbishop Whately that "Honesty is the best policy, but he who acts on that principle is not an honest man" will not be inclined to ascribe to the Bab any very high degree of integrity.

It is obvious from the instance just given that the sacred writings put forth by the Bab contain admonitions which are assuredly not those of a lofty morality. His admirers, in asking us to judge Babi practice solely by Babi precept, would seem to know but little of the contents of the Babi Bible, the *Bayan*. The internal evidence of the Babi scriptures, which could not in any event suffice to make good the pretentions of the forerunner of the Bahai prophet, are, it happens, quite sufficient to condemn them. The Bahai writers picture the Bab as a reformer who prepared the way for Bahaism by mitigating the errors of Mohammedanism. With impressment they point out to us that this teacher of a purer morality revoked the Mohammedan ordinance by which the killing of idolators was enjoined on the faithful as a religious duty. But they neglect to tell us that the Bab went on to say that his disciples, when they got the upper hand over other sects, must despoil the unbelievers of all that they possessed "except in the cities where this is impossible" in order to force them to embrace the true religion, and reproached, for their mansuetude, the Mohammedans of past times, who, the Bab holds, ought in the dispensation of his predecessor, Mohammed, to have "made the whole world Musulman" by forcing the inhabitants of each city they conquered to embrace Islam. The Mohammedans did not do this, and hence the unhappy infidels, who might so easily have been saved, are, the Bab tells us, now burning in the fires of Hell.

Mohammed himself was lax enough to prescribe that Jews and Christians, provided they paid tribute, might be allowed to dwell undisturbed under Musulman rule, and in later days the more liberal interpreters of the Koran sought to derive from the sacred text a like privilege for other unbelievers. Zoroastrians were usually given the benefit of the doubt, and some commentators went so far as to contend that any infidel save and apostate Mohammedan might be allowed to live in peace in a Musulman country. In the time of the Bab the religious principles of the Persians had so far relaxed that even apostacy from Mohammedanism was frequently tolerated or, to be more precise, ignored by the authorities. Islam contained liberal minded and humane men in the very days when the Bab's disciples were throwing themselves at the throats of their opponents

and the zealots among the Mohammedans were exhibiting a like bigotry and barbarity. The Musulman mayor of Tabriz, a philosophical mystic, who, as the Babis themselves say, "did not entertain aversion or dislike for any sect" is a case in point; another case is that of Sheykh Murtaza of Nejef who (again according to Babi testimony) did his best to discourage persecution of the Babis and other heretical sects. And while admitting that the work of the Bab was not wholly for evil and that a thoroughgoing Mohammedan would perhaps be worse than a thoroughgoing Babi, we must none the less hold that a latitudinarian Musulman who does not take the Koran too seriously or one who strains a point to give it a humane interpretation is far more fit for civilized life than a devout follower of the Babi law.

The Babi preachings, the efforts of the Bab and his apostles to kindle the fires of a purer religion from the embers of degenerate Mohammedanism, resulted in a recrudescence of religious fanaticism. The recruits of the new sect came chiefly from the Puritan elements of Islam, which Babism welded together and made a power in the state. Men like Mulla Mohammed Ali of Zanjan, who had long made himself a nuisance by insisting upon the observance of all the details of the Holy Law of the Koran, continually urging the public authorities to adopt drastic measures with the worldly minded recalcitrants, took up the Babi banner. The events that took place at Zanjan give a good illustration of the course followed by the converts to the religion of the Bab. Here Mohammed Ali laid particular stress upon the Bab's prohibition of tobacco, and his followers were able to intimidate the town people to such an extent that, as he boasted, "the unbelievers no longer dared to smoke the kalyan in the bazaars." Complaint was made to the Shah who summoned Mohammed Ali to Teheran and, after reprimanding him for his behavior, forbade him to return to Zanjan until further notice. Mohammed Ali however soon slipped quietly out of Teheran and went back to stir up more trouble at Zanjan where he counted his adherents by the thousand. The authorities feared to arrest him, and for a while a sort of armed truce was maintained between the Babis and the representatives of law and order. But one day a Babi got into a fight with a Musulman, stabbed him, and was arrested. Mohammed Ali made repeated demands for the release of his follower without success; the man languished in prison for a whole month, at the end of which time the Babis broke open the jail and, according to their own account, released all the prisoners "from the murderers down to

those guilty of every minor crime." Then government troops were sent to the province of Khamsa, and civil war began.

The Persian Court, which in the ordinary course of events deprecated religious zeal and frowned upon the efforts of the Mohammedan mullas to stir up the Musulman people against the heretics in their midst, became alarmed at the course taken by the Babi propaganda and leaned to the side of the clerical party. The mullas were allowed to work their will on the Babi heretics, and after the attempt to assassinate the Shah in 1852 the government not merely gave them a free aid of the secular arm but was itself the heart of the persecution. My opponents seem aggrieved that I have not given some account of the martyrdoms that mark the Babi and Bahai annals and told how (especially in the great persecution of 1852) the Persian officials vied with each other in devising terrible torments for their victims to undergo. That this would be of moment in a history of Mohammedanism or a history of Persia is true, but just how it is relevant to an examination of Babism and Bahaism is not clear to me. Almost all religions have, at their origin, undergone persecution, and the severity with which the persecution is carried on is a measure, not of the merits of the new religion, but of the demerits of the old one. To show that in the councils of the Persian and Turkish governments in the nineteenth century the spirit of humanity was conspicuous by its absence would surely have been a work of supererogation, nor does any one need to be told that Mohammedanism has too often shown itself a religion of blood. The question is: Were the Babis equally prone to commit crime in the name of religion, or were they at heart peace-loving citizens goaded into violence by wanton persecution?

Going back to the very inception of the movement we find that the first killing in the heretic hunts was due to the Babis, this being the cold-blooded murder of a Mohammedan mulla. Did the Babis disown this deed as the individual act of misguided members of their body? Not at all; the perpetrator was given safe refuge by his coreligionaries of Mazandaran who, be it noted, had as head the greatest of the Babi apostles, Huseyn of Bushraweyh. And when the sect put forth a history of these stirring times we find the believers, not regretting this and other deeds of violence, not representing them as retaliation for acts of their enemies, but, on the contrary, glorifying these crimes and looking upon them almost in the light of religious duties. Nor does the Babi historian, Mirza Jani, disdain to cast a glance into the future, and tell us exultantly that a day shall come when seventy thousand Mohammedan mullas

will be beheaded "like dogs." At Zanjan the Babi leader on capturing Farrukh Khan, a former Babi who had recanted and fought now on the Musulman side, is said to have first skinned his captive alive and then roasted him. Farrukh Khan, when captured, was at the head of twenty-two other soldiers of the government forces who, besieged in a house in Zanjan by the Babis, were, as the latter say, induced by "fair words" to lay down their arms and surrender. These too were executed, the Babis tell us, though it is not stated that they were skinned and roasted.

The partisans of the people of the *Bayan* would have us dwell on the cruelty of the Mohammedans toward the new sect and on the fortitude with which the Babis endured the gruesome tortures inflicted upon them, while leaving well in the shade or completely suppressing the records of the cruelty and crimes of their own party. I cannot consent to do this, and I must indeed confess that the picture of a murderer or an accomplice of a murderer submitting to torture without a tremor does not cause me to feel any admiration for the criminal, and utterly fails to arouse my enthusiasm. In fact, whether the sufferers be guilty or innocent, when I am told of men, having imbedded in wounds made in their bodies burning wicks steeped in oil, being paraded through hostile crowds to the place of execution, all the while singing songs of joy to testify to their willingness to undergo martyrdom, the impression this gives me is not that the victims belonged to the higher types of humanity, but that they as well as their torturers were of the same type as the Indian savage who goes to the stake defiantly singing his war song and taunting his captors upon whom he would promptly have inflicted the torture of fire had they been in his power instead of he being in theirs. The insensibility to pain exhibited by the religious fanatic by no means shows an unwillingness to inflict it upon others. Those who are unaffected by their own sufferings are usually among the least humane of mankind. Sympathy for the sufferings of our fellows is bred by susceptibility to pain and is not found with the callous savage.

That many of the Babis executed for the attempt on the life of the Shah were wholly innocent there can be but little doubt. Yet, even when the reprisals were at their height, the animus that actuated the Persian officials was not a religious one. This is shown by the fact that Baha, the future prophet, who even then played a notable part in the affairs of the sect, was arrested and, according to the Bahai account of the matter, gained his freedom, not by denying his faith, but by convincing his judges that he was in no way

implicated in the plot against his sovereign. His argument, as reported in the *Traveller's Narrative,* was that "No reasonable person would charge his pistol with shot when embarking on so grave an enterprise. From the very nature of the event it is clear and evident as the sun that it is not the act of such as myself."

The severity of the measures which the Shah ultimately adopted against the Babis does not appear unnatural in an Oriental monarch when the circumstances of the case are taken into account. Among the believers the doctrine had become wide-spread that to the Bab and his successors belonged not merely the spiritual power but the temporal as well, and that the ruling dynasty had no legitimate claim to the Persian throne. Babi apostles had even been known to threaten with the torments of hell-fire those who dared to lend their support to the government of Nasiru'd-Din Shah. Early in the troubles brought about by the sect the royal family itself had suffered; for in the first Babi insurrection, that of Mazandaran, two princes of the blood had fallen by the hands of the insurgents. Now came the attempts upon the Shah's own life. The Babis who sought to slay him, when questioned by the authorities after the failure of their attempt, stated that personally they were grateful to the Shah for certain benevolences which he had shown them, and that in trying to kill him they were only obeying the orders of their superiors who were clothed with sacred authority; that anything which these holy men commanded was necessarily right simply because they commanded it. Such a criterion of right and wrong is accepted even by the modern Bahais. In the "Tablet of the Most Great Infallibility," Baha'u'llah tells his flock emphatically that in a manifestation of the Deity (i. e., in himself) "no sin or error is to be found or spoken of"; that if God through His prophet "declares a virtue to be an error or infidelity to be faith, it is a truth from His Presence," if He declares the right to be the left, or the north to be the south....water to be wine or heaven to be earth, it is true and there is no doubt therein; and no one has the right to oppose Him, or to say 'why' or 'wherefore'; and he who disputes Him is verily of the opposers in the Book of God." In a note to this "Tablet," the translator, Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, Charge d'affaires of the Persian Legation at Washington (where the presence of a Bahai may perhaps be accounted for by the fact of the Persian diplomatic corps representing rather the interests of Russia and England than those of Iran) is at pains to tell us that in this teaching Abbas, the pope, follows in the footsteps of his father, the prophet, since Pope Abbas

teaches that "the infallibility of a Manifestation of God is not to be judged by men according to their own limited view or estimate of the deeds of a Manifestation. But the Manifestation of God is infallible in the sense that He, as the Temple of God, 'doeth whatsoever He willeth'; and all that He doeth must be recognized by men as based on Divine Wisdom."

This doctrine, which can be characterized only as the most pernicious religious principle that any human being has ever dared to set forth—the very principle which actuated the religious sect known as the Assassins—has been constantly adhered to by the Babis and Bahais through thick and thin. Time and time again did members of the sect tell Professor Browne that, once convinced of the justice of the claims of a pretendent to prophetship "we must obey him in everything, for he knows better than we do what is right and wrong." Nor did they hesitate to draw the logical conclusion that murder committed in the name of religion was highly meritorious. "A prophet," they said, "has the right to slay if he knows that it is necessary, for he knows what is hidden from us; and if he sees that the slaughter of a few will prevent many from going astray, he is justified in commanding such slaughter. The prophet is the spiritual physician, and as no one would blame a physician for sacrificing a limb to save the body, so no one can question the right of a prophet to destroy the bodies of a few that the souls of many may live"!

Just how high in the Babi hierarchy were the men who ordered the "removal" of the Shah it is impossible to ascertain. Azal, though he then stood at the head of the Babi flock, cannot be assumed to be responsible for the plot against the Persian sovereign. It would be a mistake to regard the Babi sect of these days as a well-organized body ruled in all its activities by a supreme commander. Even during the lifetime of the Bab the temporal affairs of the sect were largely under the control of his apostles. Some of these, in fact, were given a veneration but little below that in which the Bab himself was held. Huseyn of Bushraweyh was looked upon as the *Babu'l-Bab* or Gateway of the Gateway, and when the Bab finally arrogated to himself still higher honors than that of voice of the invisible Imam Mohammed[2] and proclaimed himself to be the *Point*—a direct manifestation of Divinity—Huseyn was

[2] The supposed intermediary between God and man; the twelfth and last of the Imams, who disappeared in a subterranean passage in 940 A. D. and is, the Persians think, still alive, residing in one of the mythical cities Jabulka and Jabulsa. For an account of these see p. 299 of the notes to Professor Browne's translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*.

promoted to Babship itself, the Bab having, toward the end of his career, abandoned the title by which he is commonly known. To encourage his followers at the siege of Tabarsi, Huseyn did not hesitate to promise that those who died in battle should be resurrected in forty days, and would then be recompensed by the position of king or prince or at least governor of some part of the earth. The more ambitious Babi warriors who aspired to speedy death were allowed to select in advance their future kingdoms, Turkey or China, England or France or Russia. Mohammed Ali of Barfurush, who succeeded to the command of the Mazandaran insurgents after the death of Huseyn, was looked upon by some Babis as having filled the highest of human offices, that of "Point" during an interregnum in which the founder of Babism ceased to deliver revelations to the world. This apostle himself declared that he was the reincarnation of the Prophet Mohammed. Jani, the Babi historian, tells us that when the mother of the Barfurush apostle married his reputed father, Aka Salih, she was three months gone with child, and that she gave birth to her son six months after her marriage, wherefore his enemies subsequently questioned his legitimacy; but his friends interpreted the fact in a favorable manner, recalling the circumstances of the birth of Jesus. The story is also told that when Mohammed Ali had become prominent in the Babi sect he one day said to Aka Salih: "Know that I am not your son, and that your son lost his way behind a stack of fire-wood on such-and-such a day whereon you sent him on an errand, and is now in such-and-such a city, while I am the Lord Jesus who has appeared in the form of your son, and, for a wise purpose, has elected you my reputed father." Another Babi saint in whom self-conceit was not lacking was Kurratu'l-Ayn who looked upon himself as the reincarnation of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Mohammed, and told the people that any unclean thing was immediately rendered pure by being exposed to her gaze. The claims of the lady as well as those of her lover found a ready acceptance with the Babi herd who hailed the meeting of Mohammed Ali of Barfurush and Kurratu'l-Ayn with the cry: "The Sun and the Moon are in conjunction."

From the early Babis I now pass on to the modern Bahais whose cause my opponents have more particularly at heart. In *The Open Court* protest has been raised against the tenor of my previous article by Mr. Kheiralla, Mrs. Kirchner and Mr. Tobler. None of these meet the points that I raised; they lavish unstinted praise on the cult of Baha'u'llah, but make no reply to the specific

articles of my indictment. The letter of Mr. Tobler is, I think, of much value as a specimen of Bahai rhetoric and an exemplification of the mental attitude characteristic of the followers of Abdul Baha. He has however, it would appear, given but scant attention to the questions at issue. And it is rather amusing that, in reproaching me for not having consulted those whom he deems competent authorities on Babism and Bahaism, he actually cites three authors from whom it happens I did draw in the composition of my article, namely Count de Gobineau, M. H. Dreyfus and Mr. C. H. Remey. The first of these is really an authority: the only one in Mr. Tobler's remarkable list; the other two have as their sole claim to consideration the fact that they are representative Bahais. And had Mr. Tobler read the work of Count de Gobineau he would scarcely have committed the absurdity of citing this authority *in opposition* to my "allegations." The reference to Mr. Remey is likewise not very apt, for the latter though thoroughly devoted to the Bahai cause, is often more ardent than edifying. The perusal of his writings by outsiders is not likely to accrue to the benefit of the faith. I know, indeed, of one case where a man whose previous attitude toward the Bahai movement had been most sympathetic, after reading one of Remey's articles upholding the papal supremacy and the infallibility of Pope Abbas, threw the book on the floor, and said with some emphasis: "If *that* is the Bahai creed, damn Bahaism!" Mr. Tobler, in the further course of his remarks, intimates that the result of my article may be a St. Bartholomew massacre of the American Bahais. It is hardly worth while to dispute his imputation, but I would point out that since, according to Mr. Tobler, he and his coreligionaries are "joyfully willing" to "receive the crown of martyrdom" it is unreasonable in him to feel aggrieved because he conceives that I am trying to bring the American Bahais the joy they desire.

To the three Bahais that opposed me in *The Open Court* must be added a fourth opponent, Mr. James F. Morton Jr. who took up the subject in two letters to *The Truth Seeker,* a New York weekly devoted to the cause of freethought, but always scrupulously fair in giving a hearing to both sides of any question. In a previous issue of this periodical there had appeared an abstract of my *Open Court* article, and Mr. Morton, though a freethinker, was impelled to take up the cudgels for the Bahais. Like my other critics he neglects to show just where I am at fault in my strictures on the Bahai movement, though he asserts that "it would not be difficult to do so." He contents himself with specifying

certain ways in which Bahaism appeals to him, and I shall proceed to consider the merits which he and my other critics ascribe to the cult of Baha'u'llah.

First and foremost among the claims put forth for Bahaism is its alleged promotion of love and unity. Kindliness toward those of other sects is fundamental in the Bahai religion, so we are told. The primary commandment, an advocate informs us, is: "Do not antagonize or denounce any religion." To follow Bahaism is "to never allow ourselves to speak an unkind word about another, even though that other be our enemy." Yet in Persia, Professor Browne found that the disciples of Baha'u'llah did not hesitate to refer to their Zoroastrian neighbors as "unclean pagans" and resented his association with these Guebres, while moreover they were circulating a work in which the Shiite Mohammedans are described as a "foul and erring sect." In Hamadan, where a portion of the Jewish inhabitants have gone over to Bahaism, the adherents of the older faith claim that "the continual attacks of the Bahais against the Jews" have produced the result [in 1914] of "hatred and bitter dissensions between fathers and sons, sisters and brothers, husband and wife." Turning to the Occident we find that Mr. Horace Holley, in his recent work on Bahaism, refers to Catholic practic as "a diabolical perversion of Christ's teaching," and in lurid language speaks of "the servant-maid who betrays her instincts to a priest lurking in his dark confessional." Whether such epithets be justified or not, it is quite clear that they do not tend toward bringing about that era of good feeling in matters of religion whch is so ostentatiously paraded before the outsider and the neophyte as the primary aim of the Bahai movement.

Further enlightenment as to the efficacy of Bahaism in the promotion of religious concord is afforded by what has taken place in the very bosom of the sect. Here, if anywhere, we ought to find unity and harmony. Are we not told, in a pamphlet with the alluring title *Unity through Love,* that "in the future years.... the people of Baha will not diverge and disagree as Christians have done." The reason given for this bright outlook is not however a very convincing one, it is "because they cannot. The dissenters, the reformers and exposers will no longer be Bahais. They have excommunicated themselves by their divergence; they have turned away from God."

Like statements are often made by Christians; there is but one Christian church, we are told, all the others are mere shams. And the actual state of affairs in Bahaism is quite similar to that in

Christianity. The Bahais are rent into two mutually hostile factions: The Orthodox or Papal party, headed by Pope Abdul Baha Abbas, and the Protestants, most of the latter owning allegiance to another son of the Prophet and a half-brother of Abbas, Mohammed Ali. The American adherents of the former usually write *Baha* and *Bahai*; those of the latter commonly spell these words with an *e*, writing *Beha* and *Behai,* but this rule is not absolute. The orthodox apply, as a term of reproach, the name *Nakazeen* or *Nakizis* (deniers) to all who admitting the claims of the Prophet, deny those of the Bahai Pope, whether such heretics follow the lead of Mohammed Ali or not. Mr. Kheiralla is a Nakizi, and that he is not especially friendly toward the orthodox Bahais of Greenacre is shown by his reference to these people (in language more disparaging than I myself have seen fit to use in my account of the Greenacre affair) as Bostonians who "cheated Miss Farmer out of her property known as Greenacre." The attitude of the Papal party toward the Bahai heretics may be judged from what a pious follower of Pope Abbas tells us in a pamphlet entitled *The Dawn of Knowledge and the Most Great Peace.* "Can anything be more abominable, loathsome or abhorrent to refined senses than the disgusting spectacle of a dog vomiting up a mess of partly digested food, then turning around and licking it up again! Yet this, the Holy Spirit has declared, is how the violators of the Covenant appear to the faithful."

The doctrine of the Covenant is the Bahai dogma in which is embodied the claim of the leader of the sect to papal power. The idea seems to be this: that in the present dispensation—the dispensation of Baha'u'llah, which the Bahais claim has superseded that of Mohammed, just as (they hold) Mohammedanism superseded the Christian dispensation—God has made a covenant with mankind that he will not empty the vials of his wrath upon any human being who accepts His prophet, Baha'u'llah, as the latest manifestation of the Deity, and takes the inspired utterances of Baha as law. So far, there is, I think, substantial agreement between all fully initiated Bahais, in other words, all save the neophytes who are allowed, for a time, to look upon Bahaism as a merely humanitarian doctrine having as its keynote the brotherhood of man. The Nakazis, to be sure, are not in the habit of using the word "covenant," yet none the less do they look upon faith in Baha'u'llah and obedience to his ordinances as essential. But the orthodox true believers go still further; unwilling to rely upon their own interpretation of the sacred writings left by their

Saviour, they feel a necessity for a "Center of the Covenant," as they rather curiously put it, that is, for an infallible interpreter of the inspired words of the Bahai Messiah, Baha'u'llah. This Center of the Covenant they find in the person of Abdul Baha Abbas, the son of Baha'u'llah. The Nakizis, then, are those Bahais who claim the right of private interpretation of the Bahai scriptures and hold that the Covenant needs no "Center."

How important in the eyes of the orthodox Bahais is adhesion to the Center of the Covenant may be judged from the statement of the Bahai book, *Explanations concerning Sacred Mysteries,* that "Whosoever is, in this day, firm in the Covenant and the Testament of God, and turns unto Abdul Baha in compliance with the decisive command of the Blessed Perfection, he is of the companions of the right hand, and is of the exalted letters; such a soul is day by day in advance and progress and his death is conducive to loftiness and eternal life. On the other hand, whosoever violates the Covenant of the Blessed Perfection, and turns away from Abdul Baha, the Center of the Covenant, he is every instant declining, is a follower of natural desires, one of the companions of the left hand, and one of the letters of the hell-fire"; and "He who is not firm in the Covenant of God is of the hell, the doors of the Kingdom are closed unto him....How great will be the punishment which is appointed for such a soul after his leaving the body!" According to this, not only are the unregenerate persons who reject Bahaism *in toto* doomed to perdition, but even Mohammed Ali and the other members of the Prophet's family and *entourage* who decline to admit the claims of Abbas to infallibility are destined to the very bottommost pits of hell! So kindly a forecast brings home to us in a striking way the universal love and charity that pervades the Bahai movement, and convinces us that it is not without reason that one of my critics ascribes to the followers of Pope Abbas a "breadth and tolerance" which is "in pleasing contrast with Judaism and Christianity."

Friendly relations are not however always interrupted by a belief that one's neighbor is doomed to perdition. Catholics and Calvinists have been known to live together in peace without allowing their religious differences to interfere with the usual social amenities. Surely this should have been the case with the sons of the Prophet of Love. Does not Mr. Phelps tell us, in his *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi,* that if we analyze this peculiar spirit of the Bahais; if we seek to penetrate that which marks them off from other men, the conclusion to which we are brought is that

its essence is expressed in the one word *Love.* These men are lovers; lovers of God, of their Master and Teacher, of each other, and of all mankind." Nowhere, we may well conclude, would the teachings of Baha'ullah be more fruitful than in the Bahai community at Acre; here, and especially in the bosom of his own fammily, his influence ought to have made itself felt and have shown that tendency to peace and harmony which the Bahais rate so highly. Abbas, we might suppose, would be content with consigning his brother to hell, and Mohammed Ali would rest satisfied with a polite denial of his destiny of damnation. This has not been the case; accusations and recriminations have been bandied back and forth between the two parties, and to prevent physical conflicts it has been necessary to call in the aid of the Ottoman police.

Abbas bases his papal pretensions upon certain documents supposed to have been written by Baha'u'llah, and Mohammed Ali likewise relies on the writings of the Prophet in disputing his brother's title to the spiritual throne. Neither will acknowledge the other's title deeds to be genuine; each accuses the other of altering and interpolating the manuscripts left by their father. In reply to the question: "Has Abbas dared to change the texts uttered by Baha'u'llah?" Mohammed Ali and his adherents answer: "Most certainly, Yes. We have in our possession *many* texts of Baha'-u'llah which have been changed by Abbas Effendi." According to them, whenever Abbas came across an unpublished "Tablet" of Baha containing anything inconsistent with his own pretensions, he either cut out the portion which went against his assumption of authority and palmed off the remainder as a complete tablet in two portions, or, if this was not practicable, suppressed the sacred text altogether. And Mirza Aka Jan, amanuensis of Baha for forty years, who on his master's death took the part of Mohammed Ali, goes so far as to assert that Abbas forged an entire tablet in trying to make good his claims. Against Mohammed Ali the partisans of Abbas make quite similar charges. The Protestant Bahais assert that Abbas, when his father died, unjustly appropriated the whole of the latter's property, and while each week ostentatiously distributing a large sum of money to beggars, left his father's widows and their children in penury until the Turkish government stepped in and forced him to disgorge. The Papal party, on the other hand, accuse the half-brothers of Abbas of being profligate and wanton, of frequenting wine shops and of being spendthrifts, and say that

they pawned valuable rugs and jewelry of the deceased Prophet —goods to which they had no right—and squandered the proceeds.

Shortly after the death of Baha, Abbas and his adherents commenced to erect on the side of Mt. Carmel above Haifa an edifice designed, so they said, to serve as a mausoleum for the bodies of the Prophet and his forerunner, the Bab, there being also included in the building a hall for devotional purposes. Mohammed Ali went to the Turkish authorities and represented to them that this structure was really designed to serve as a fort, and that Abbas and his followers intended ultimately to use it in an attempt to make themselves masters of this part of Syria, which they hoped to wrest out of the control of the Ottoman government. That the contention was not unplausible is shown by the impression the edifice produced upon an Occidental Bahai belonging to the Papal flock who visited Acre a few years ago: "After seeing its massive walls and solid masonry, we did not wonder that the Turkish Government might believe that the Master was building a great military fort."[3] It would not be the first time in the history of the movement that a tomb was used to further a revolt, for in the insurrection of Mazandaran the Babis had as their headquarters the mausoleum of Sheykh Tabarsi, and so strong a fortress did it prove to be that within its walls they were able to withstand a siege of nine months duration.

At all events, this attempt on the part of his brother to stir up the authorities against him, caused much inconvenience to Abbas and his followers, though finally they were allowed to proceed with the construction of the tomb. Even then however their troubles were not over. The adherents of Mohammed Ali, men who had the full benefit of that teaching which, the Bahais say, will turn this world of strife into a dove-cote, men who had passed year after year in the irresistible atmosphere of love and harmony that radiated from Baha'u'llah, men among whom were included three sons of the Prophet and many other prominent Bahais, notably the beloved disciple designated by Baha as "The First to Believe," Mirza Aka Jan of Kashan, "cursed and insulted the visitors to the Holy Tomb of the Blessed Perfection," so the Papal historians say. And, as we are told, "Finally it was feared that some of the youthful believers would no longer be able to endure the evil tongue and cursing of the Nakazeen, and a disturbance would arise which would be contrary to the tranquil disposition of the Bahais and would desecrate the Holy Tomb. Consequently His Holiness

[3] Mrs. C. True in *Notes taken at Acca.*

Abdul Baha asked the local government to supply a guard to accompany the believers upon the days of visiting the Holy Tomb, so that they might be protected from unseemly disturbance and be able to engage in prayer and devotion with composure."[4] On reading of these facts, one wonders whether there is not a spice of humor in the statement of a certain Bahai writer that the Most Great Peace which Bahaism is to bring will be "a peace which passeth the understanding. "Perhaps there may be none, for Bahais have a very peculiar way of looking at such matters. Not long ago, at a public meeting, a Bahai proselytizer lauded the religion in glowing terms for the great harmony it invariably brought about, and when one of the audience, who had seen something of the movement, made the comment that her experience had been quite the contrary, that in no sect had she seen more discord than among the Bahais, she was met by the triumphant reply that that was just it, that this apparent inharmony was the very proof of their harmony!

The schism of the Bahais into the followers of Mohammed Ali and the orthodox adherents of Abdul Baha Abbas took place shortly after the death of Baha in 1892. Not all the original supporters of Abbas have remained among the faithful. From time to time members of the Papal flock fall away from grace and become Nakizis. Abbas is obliged to be continually warning his people against the pestilential heretics who would lead them astray. "You must be very careful, perchance amongst you may be those who will be Nakazeen, the violators of the Covenant. Do not listen to them." The Most Great Branch (which is one of the titles of Abbas) has to repeat to his people again and again that "In the Tablet of The Branch He [the Prophet Baha] explicitly states: *'Whatsoever The Branch says is right, or correct; and every person must obey The Branch with his life, with his heart, with his tongue: Without his will, not a word shall any one utter.'* This is an explicit text....So there is no excuse left for anybody. No soul shall of himself speak anything." The faithful are to bear in mind, Abbas modestly says, that "Any opinion expressed by the Center of the Covenant is correct, and there is no way for disobedience for any one." And he tells his flock that at pres-

[4] Mirza Aka Jan ("Khadim'u'llah") asserts that he was cruelly beaten by the followers of Abbas at the express commands of the Pope and was even insulted and struck by the latter in person. Other details of the controversy between Abbas and Mohammed Ali will be found in an article by Dr. Carus, "A New Religion, Babism," in *The Open Court,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 411ff. Portraits are there given of Abbas, Mohammed Ali and other members of the family of the Bahai Prophet.

ent the importance of the Covenant "is not known befittingly; but in the future it shall attain to such a degree of importance that if a king violates it to the extent of one atom he shall be cut off immediately"!

Not content with the role of a mere interpreter of dogma, Pope Abbas tries to stretch to the utmost the prerogatives of the Center of the Covenant, and claims, under the name of infallibility the right to direct the daily life of the faithful. To avoid being called a Nakizi, a Bahai must let the pope of the sect rule his doings as well as his dogma, since the infallible interpreter so interprets the dogma of infallibility as to make it mean much more than infallibility. For their very goings and comings the Persian Bahais are bound to obtain previous permission from the Pope, and a member of the flock who arrives in a strange country without a written permission to travel and a papal certificate of orthodoxy must be shunned by all true believers. "Write to every one," Pope Abbas tells one of his American lieutenants, "and awaken all, that they must not meet any Persian who has not in his hand a credential in my handwriting and signature." And, on another occasion, to all the "believers and maid-servants" throughout America this notice is sent: "Whosoever from amongst the Persian believers arrives in America although he may be related to me, that is, even if he be my son-in-law or she be my daughter, first ask of him the letter giving him a *new* permission to come again to America. If he shows you any such letter, be most careful and attentive that it is my writing and my signature, that they may not be counterfeits. Then you cable to me and inquire about him, otherwise do not associate with him.... Whosoever speaks with him is a violator of the Covenant." Even Occidental Bahais find it advisable to obtain a written permission from the Pope when they change their place of residence. Quite recently a Bahai lady, Mrs. Getsinger, who after carrying on propaganda work in India had been permitted to dwell for some time with the "Holy Family" at the foot of Mt. Carmel, left Syria for the United States, and, though to all the American Bahais she was well known as an ardent and faithful believer, it was thought necessary to publish in the *Star of the West* of October 16, 1915, a reproduction in facsimile of the passport issued to her by Pope Abbas granting permission to "the maid-servant of God, Lua" to come here.

Complete submission to the papal power is a *sine qua non* with Abbas. Woe to the Bahai who dares to disobey him! "Any soul," he says, "who violates the Covenant and Testament in the least degree, immediately he is cut off; even in this material world

he will become afflicted with remorse and regret." Most of the American Bahais have taken these admonitions to heart and are very punctilious in obedience to their pope; they carefully shun and avoid the stranger until he produces a certificate of orthodoxy. Their attitude was shown in 1913 when two Persian Bahais landed in San Francisco from a Pacific steamer and attempted to attend divine service at the Bahai meeting place in that city. These newcomers, having no credentials, were, as the *Star of the West* tells us, "advised to leave and return to their hotel." And while later they were entertained at the home of one believer unmindful of the commands of the Pope, the more faithful members of the flock gave no sanction to this lapse from loyalty. They were indeed highly scandalized and brought the case before His Holiness himself, who wrote back a pastoral letter which in emphatic terms commended the Bahai assembly of San Francisco for excluding the strangers and blamed the disloyal one who had received them as guests.

It is proverbial that in religious movements the Americans among the converts distinguish themselves by the financial support they afford. And it is his American followers, above all, that Abbas appears anxious to keep in the full bloom of orthodoxy. We may see a connection between these two facts without attributing to the Bahai pope any sordid motives of personal gain, but merely supposing him to have in view the needs of his church. The rivals of Abbas seem to have scented the rich pickings to be had in the United States, for the Bahai Pope says that "all the enemies of the Cause in Persia—Yahyais [i. e., Azalites], Nakazeen and Sufists—are turning their attention to America and will come in order to weaken the Cause of God." These competitors for American money—"thieves," "wolves," and "traitors" as he deems them—cause the good Pope much anxiety, and he seems to be unable to give complete trust even to his own household. He specifically warns the Americans not to receive his sons-in-law, Mirza Jalal, Mirza Mohsen and Mirza Hadi, or his grandsons, Shougi Effendi and Rouhi Effendi, without credentials from his hand. When they become suspect, even those connected with him by family ties are given scant consideration by Abbas. A year or so ago the husband of his wife's sister, the venerable Mirza Asad'-u'llah of Nur, a Bahai apostle who had well-nigh worn out his life in the service of the Prophet and the Pope; who upon the death of the father of Abbas had been among the foremost of the supporters of the claims of the latter to the succession and to papal power, fell under suspicion of the Center of the Covenant and was

promptly branded a Nakizi; all the faithful were henceforth bound to avoid him as though he were the pest. In vain was Abbas asked the reason for this excommunication; all explanation was refused, but it would seem that the Ultramontane Curia of Acre suspected Asad'u'llah of a tendency toward liberalism. And when a little later, in the spring of 1914, his son, Mirza Ameen'u'llah Fareed (who had interpreted into eloquent English the discourses made by Abbas when the Pope was in America in 1912, but had fallen into disgrace from his connection with Asad'u'llah) left Egypt, where Asad'u'llah was then staying, and went to England, Pope Abbas felt it incumbent upon him to send, through Mirza Lotfullah, the Papal Delegate to the British Isles, an urgent message to the Bahais of England forbidding them to associate with or even meet Dr. Fareed or any of his relations. Not all the English Bahais heeded this charitable mandate, but those who disobeyed paid the penalty of expulsion from the fold, and the orthodox Bahais now look upon them as accursed Nakazeen. In obedience to the command of the Pope the orthodox promptly excluded the mother and sister of Dr. Fareed from the chapel of the "Religion of Unity" when these ladies ventured to present themselves there to participate in the Bahai devotional exercises. And when certain recalcitrant Bahais gave a reception with members of the Fareed party as guests of honor, one of the orthodox bell-wethers (a prominent Washington Bahai who was then in England) stationed himself outside the house where the reception was held, and solemnly warned all who entered that it was "forbidden" to have any communication whatsoever with the Nakizis within, and that to disobey meant to be put under the ban of His Holiness Abdul Baha. The result of all this was that the English Bahai world soon found itself in the throes of a serious schism, and the breach has not yet been healed. Not long ago Mirza Asad'u'llah came to the United States to inaugurate here a religious movement of an eclectic and syncretic character, "The School of the Prophets," which is to have in its doctrines none of the bigotry and intolerance of papal Bahaism. And it was probably he and his companions that Abdul Baha had in mind when, in a communication to the Bahais of this country, dated Haifa, October 14, 1915, he said: "It may come to pass that some corrupted souls shall come to America working to bring about the wavering of your hearts; but you must be firm like unto a mountain in faith and the Covenant."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PASSING OF A PATRIOT.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, judge, statesman and man of letters, former governor of the State of Pennsylvania, has passed from us at a time when his countrymen were in deep need of his advice and counsel. He died September 3, 1916, of uremic poisoning, at the age of seventy-three. He was vigorous up to the time of his death. He was a member of the State Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania, and he was carrying on a forcible campaign in the newspapers against the hysteria and delusions of our most dangerous "hyphenates," the Anglomániacs. Almost the last letter that the Ex-Governor dictated was a letter to Roland Hugins, author of *Germany Misjudged,* in appreciation and praise of his book.

The former governor was never mealy-mouthed in discussing the issues of the world war. He was strongly convinced that pro-Ally sympathizers had made a silly interpretation of its causes and significance. He thought that American statesmanship had been purblind to the best interests of America, and that the Wilson administration had shown an inability to manage our relations with Europe that approached fatuity. He held that the United States had sacrificed a marvelous opportunity to make a real friend of Germany, and had wrongfully lent its aid to the British, who are likely some day to "crush" us, as they are now trying to "crush" Germany. He stood for a real and not a hypocritical neutrality.

The word of such a man is bound to carry weight. This great Pennsylvanian was not a "hyphenate," except in the inclusive sense that all white men on this continent are sprung from European stock. He came from a very old Dutch family. He had attained high rank in letters and in law. His public career was a long and distinguished one. He fought in the Civil War, responding to the first call for troops from his state. He was judge of the Common Pleas court for more than a decade. In 1902 he was nominated and elected governor of Pennsylvania. His term was marked with many important legislative reforms. He brought about the passage of the present libel law of Pennsylvania, which compels editors and publishers to print their names on the editorial pages of their newspapers. He created as governor the Pennsylvania state constabulary, now a model for other states. He originated the National Divorce Congress, of which he was the first president. All of his public acts were marked by fearlessness and by constructive statesmanship.

Germany Misjudged, the book that the Ex-Governor praised, is one of the several notable war books brought out during the past year by The Open Court Publishing Company. Its author is also a descendant of "old" Dutch

stock, a young man, not yet thirty, an instructor of economics in one of our larger universities. The publishers believe that *Germany Misjudged* is in many respects the clearest, fairest and most convincing presentation and defense of the German cause that has appeared in English.

Samuel W. Pennypacker's letter to Mr. Hugins follows:

"I write to express to you the very great satisfaction given me by your recent book *Germany Misjudged* which I have just finished reading. It is a most valuable contribution to the literature on this war. In fact I am inclined to think that it is the srongest and clearest presentation of the cause of the Germans that I have anywhere met. You have evidently selected your facts with great care and the conclusions from them are unanswerable.

"The present administration blundered frightfully when it threw the weight of American influence into the cause of the Allies—a blunder which will have grave consequences for generations to come. It is incomprehensible to me that Mr. Wilson should fail to see that a real neutrality was the only course for us to pursue.

"I wish it were possible by some means to get your book generally into the hands of American readers. Judging from your name I infer that you like myself are of Dutch origin."

BOOK REVIEWS.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AMONG OUR NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. By *Captain W. Thornton Parker,* M.D. Illustrated. Published by the author at Northampton, Mass. Pages, 232. Price, cloth, $2.00 postpaid.

These war reminiscences of Dr. William Thornton Parker cover the period from 1867 to 1885 and furnish an interesting presentation of frontier life from personal experience. The single chapters have been published in article form in various periodicals and contain material of intense interest. Wars are now being waged in ancient Europe, but in this country the terrors of frontier life are almost forgotten and have become scarcely believable, and for this reason the book will prove the more interesting to the rising generation.

Dr. Parker has also published within the last year a genealogical history of two colonial families in which he is personally interested, *Gleanings from Colonial and American Records of Parker and Morse Families, A. D., 1585-1915.* It is a very attractive volume, bound in blue and gold cloth with gilt lettering and contains photographs of colonial representatives of these families, their homes and trophies. There is a picture of the battle of Bunker Hill with a descriptive key of the important leaders who took part. The frontispiece is an excellent reproduction in colors of a famous painting of a battle of the Revolution.

In addition to the above books, the author has just published the *Annals of Old Fort Cummings, New Mexico, 1867-8.* The ruins of this old fort, which is rich in mmemories of the early Indian wars, are just north of Columbus, New Mexico, in a region which has been the center of interest during the recent troubles on the Mexican border.

FUNDAMENTAL SOURCES OF EFFICIENCY. By *Fletcher Durell, Ph. D.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1914. Pp. 368. Price $2.50 net.

The present work is an attempt to analyze the various forms and sources of efficiency into a few elemental principles. The author feels that the study

of such primal elements will not only aid in the mastery of efficiency in a given field, but will prevent this important idea from assuming a narrow meaning and thus leading to limited or even harmful results. In the preface he explains that the leading ideas here presented were suggested by the study of Spencer twenty years before. This basis has been supplemented by careful perusal of the publications of the Efficiency Society and of leading writers along these lines. Groups of exercises have been inserted after each chapter so that the book is well equipped as a text-book for efficiency courses. This purpose is further served by the careful subdivision of chapters. Something of the scope of the work can be indicated by the topics of the chapters as follows: Definition and First Principles; Reuse; The Unit and Its Multiples; The Group; Multiplicative Groups; Orders of Material; Externality; Uniformity and Diversity; Expenditures and Results; Symbolism; Directive; Kinematic and Dynamic; Rhythm; Dialectic; Limitation; Error and Paradox; Combinations of Efficients-Summary; Applications.

A commentary on current typographical tendencies is furnished by the frequent appearance of the word "Reuse" printed without a hyphen. The word is perfectly good, and our modern rules would dispense with the hyphen, but the word is not in such general use but that its appearance without context as the title of the chaper and in such headings as "Marginal Reuse," "Negative Reuse," "Special forms of Reuse," etc., proves puzzling to the general reader. K

NOTES.

It will be of great interest to scientists and students of physics everywhere to learn that just before his death last February, Prof. Ernst Mach had completed a manuscript on the "Principles of the Theory of Light" upon which he had been at work almost to the very last days of his life. This treatise on Light will form a companion volume to his previous works on *Mechanics* (English translation by T. J. McCormack, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1902) and the *Theory of Heat,* an English translation of which is now on the press with the same publishers. Like these earlier works Professor Mach's last book will present the development of principles from a critical point of view and by the historical method. The *Prinzipien der Lichtlehre* will appear during 1916 from the press of Johann Ambrosius Barth of Leipsic.

BOOKS BY ERNST MACH

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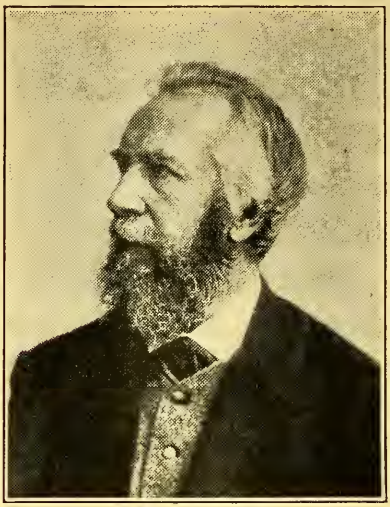

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